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CONFIDENTIAL.

(8665.)

PART 25.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF MOROCCO.

January to June 1905.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
1	Sir E. Egerton ..	183	Dec. 30, 1904	El Mokri. Conversation with Marquis of Aguilar respecting his movements. Has had interview with French Chargé d'Affaires (see Part 24, No. 528)	1
2	Sir A. Nicolson ..	1 Tel.	Jan. 3, 1905	French Military Mission to Fez. French Minister has received satisfactory note from Moorish Government, whereby necessity of withdrawing Vice-Consul and others from Fez will be obviated and he will be able to proceed shortly (see Part 24, No. 516) ..	1
3	,, ,, ..	233	Dec. 23, 1904	French Military Mission to Fez. In consequence of Sultan's dismissing Mission, French Minister has been ordered by his Government to withdraw Vice-Consul and officers from Fez. Transmits Circular addressed to foreign Representatives respecting (see No. 2)	2
4	,, ,, ..	234	23,	Anarchy in Morocco. Lamentable accounts from coast and southern districts. Farm of a British subject attacked near Dar-al-Baida. Unrest among the Rahamna (see Part 24, No. 523)	3
5	,, ,, ..	236	24,	Departure of British residents from Fez. Has instructed Vice-Consul to effect. Conversation with French Minister (see Part 24, No. 540)	3
6	,, ,, ..	2 Tel.	Jan. 4, 1905	French Mission to Fez. Will start in about a week. Proposes to inform Minister for Foreign Affairs that British officers, whom Moorish Government propose to dismiss, will not be communicated with at present as there seems to be a misunderstanding on the subject (see No. 3)	4
7	To Sir A. Nicolson ..	1 Tel.	4,	Proposed dismissal of British officers from Fez. Approves note to Minister for Foreign Affairs suggested in No. 6	5
8	Sir A. Nicolson ..	3 Tel.	5,	Moorish Pretender. Government troops have received serious defeat near Oujdah at the hands of. Extended in No. 15 ..	5
9	,, ,, ..	237	Dec 28, 1904	Murder of a Spaniard by some Moors at Tangier. Representations made to local authorities on behalf of Mr. Waller, the employer of the victim (see Part 24, No. 532)	5
10	,, ,, ..	239	30,	Case of Menebhi. Transmits note from Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that Sultan accedes to settlement of. Menebhi proposes to leave for Egypt after settlement (see Part 24, No. 539) .. .	6
11	To Sir A. Nicolson ..	4	Jan. 9, 1905	Case of Menebhi. Expresses satisfaction at settlement reported in No. 10	7
12	Sir A. Nicolson ..	1	3,	Withdrawal of French Consular and military authorities from Fez. Transmits despatch from Vice-Consul, with Memorandum, giving substance of interview with M. Gaillard. French Minister has stated that incident has terminated in a satisfactory manner (see No. 6)	7

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
13	Sir A. Nicolson ..	2 Confidential	Jan. 4, 1905	Withdrawal of French Consular and military authorities from Fez. Communications between French and Moorish Governments read by French Ambassador. French citizens and Vice-Consul will probably not be required to leave Fez (see No. 12) ..	10
14	,, ,, ..	3	4,	State of insecurity of British subjects at Tangier. Transmits Petition signed by 100 British subjects asking that some measures be adopted to remedy state of affairs (see Part 24, No. 523)	11
15	,, ,, ..	5	5,	Moorish Pretender. Extends No. 8 ..	11
16	,, ,, ..	6	5,	Proposed dismissal of British officers from service of Moorish Government. Transmits note to Minister for Foreign Affairs. Extends No. 6	12
17	To Sir A. Nicolson ..	7	18,	State of insecurity of British subjects at Tangier. To express regret to petitioners. Any active measures must devolve on French Government. French Mission to Fez may be expected to deal with matter. Refers to No. 14	13
18	,, ,, ..	8	18,	Proposed dismissal of British officers from service of Moorish Government. Approves note to Minister for Foreign Affairs submitted in No. 16	13
19	Sir A. Nicolson ..	7	11,	French Mission to Fez. Reports departure of. Will remain at Fez three or four months (see No. 6)	13
20	,, ,, ..	8 Confidential	11,	Case of Menebhi. Conversation with French Minister. Has informed him that British Government would not stand in the way of his waiving his British protection in event of French authorities asking for his co-operation. Requests approval of action (see No. 11)	14
21	Mr. White	10	20,	Disturbances round Alcazar. Force of about 1,000 men has arrived there to restore order. Its presence will tend to facilitate journey of French Mission to Fez .	14
22	,, ,, ...	12	21,	State of country in Dar-al-Baida district. Improvement in. Whole district round Marakesh will probably send levies to join Sultan at Fez (see No. 4)	15
23	,, ,, ...	5 Tel.	30,	French proposals for reforms in Morocco. Representatives have been summoned from principal towns to discuss. This will probably increase difficulty of French Minister's task, and prolong the negotiations ..	15
24	,, ,, ...	14	28,	Punishment of tribes for lawlessness. Reports forthcoming arrival of troops from Alcazar. Transmits note from Sultan's Deputy to foreign Representatives, and reply. Raisuli uneasy at approach of troops. Refers to No. 21	15
25	,, ,, ...	15	29,	Formation of Advisory Council by Sultan. Two prominent Tangier and two Tetuan citizens have been ordered to proceed to Fez. French Minister's negotiations will thus be delayed (see No. 23)	16
26	,, ,, ...	17	Feb. 3,	Detachment of troops at Alcazar. Basha of Tangier has received orders to levy a body of troops. Tranquillity has been restored in Alcazar district (see No. 24)	17

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
27	Mr. White.. ..	18	Feb. 10, 1905	Case of Menebhi. Transmits correspondence with Sid-ben-Sliman respecting release of Menebhi's brother and nephew from prison. Sultan has consented to their release provided that the whole family leave the country. Refers to No. 20	17
28	„ „	21	11,	French Minister at Fez. Has had two audiences with Sultan and laid various French proposals before His Majesty. Satisfaction at manner in which they have been received (see No. 23)	21
29	„ „	22	11,	Withdrawal by foreigners of their property from Tangier district. Transmits letter from Sid Torres respecting demand of Moorish Government. French Chargé d'Affaires proposes to remind Sid Torres of responsibility of Moorish Government in matter. Suggests following similar course. Refers to No. 17	22
30	To Mr. White ..	19	22,	Withdrawal by foreigners of their property from Tangier district. Approves proposal in No. 29	23
31	„ „ ..	20	22,	Sid-el-Menebhi. Approves action reported in No. 27	23
32	Mr. White.. ..	23	15,	Memorial addressed by German subjects at Tangier to their Government. Similar to that sent in No. 14. Reply that German Government will take steps for protection of their lives and property should they be in danger..	23
33	„ „	25	18,	Financial situation in Morocco. Arrival of Representative of French bondholders. His interview with Sultan. It is considered preferable not to raise another loan if it can be avoided	24
34	Sir A. Nicolson ..	25 Confidential	12,	Situation in Morocco. Conversation with French Ambassador. Views on intentions of German Government. Germany considers her hands free in respect of Morocco ..	24
35	„ „ ..	29	17,	Summons received by Sultan's Deputy at Tangier to proceed to Fez. Conversation with Spanish Prime Minister. Advises his Excellency to wait till affairs in Morocco are more settled before moving in any way in Spanish sphere of influence	25
36	Mr. White.. ..	27	26,	State of Morocco. In southern districts continues to be of fairly satisfactory nature. Sale of Governorships continues as means of bringing funds into the Treasury. Refers to No. 22	25
37	„ „	29	Mar. 3,	Meeting of Delegates from towns summoned by Sultan at Fez. Discussion with French Minister as to insecurity of country. Sultan inclined to believe that present is not an opportune moment for introduction of reforms (see Nos. 23 and 28)	26
38	„ „	30	5,	Moorish Government force outside Tangier. Consists of about 300 infantry. Raisuli in communication with commander, and professing loyalty and readiness to assist in restoring order (see No. 24)	27
39	Sir A. Nicolson ..	34	Feb. 28,	Morocco question. Conversation with Minister for Foreign Affairs. Spain desirous to co-operate with France. Convocation of Moorish Notables not favourably received by French Minister (see Nos. 35 and 37) ..	27

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
40	Mr. White.. ..	31	Mar. 9, 1905	Trade in contraband goods in Morocco. Transmits letter from Acting Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. Claims right of Moorish Government to stop and search passing vessels	28
41	„ „	32 Confidential	10,	Proposed reorganization of Sultan's army. French Minister has explained his scheme. Points on which French Government are entitled to insist. Scheme embraces considerable increase of French Military Mission. Refers to No. 37	29
41*	„ „	10 Tel.	19,	Visit of German Emperor to Tangier will take place 31st March	30*
42	Sir F. Bertie ..	101 A	22,	Germany and Morocco. Conversation with M. Delcassé, who cannot understand what Germany wants, having been informed of Franco-Spanish Agreement and knowing of Anglo-French Agreement at time of conclusion	30
42*	Mr. White.. ..	12 Tel	23,	Emperor's visit. Moors regard it as a check to French designs (see No. 41*) . ..	31*
43	„ „	13 Tel.	24,	Proposed reorganization of Sultan's army. Rumour as to Sultan's desire for substitution of Egyptian for Algerian non-commissioned officers not confirmed (see No. 41) ..	31
44	„ „	33	16,	"Accord Révoil." Details of the Agreement. Decision of French Government to give effect to it	31
45	„ „	34	17,	Bank of Spain's rumoured intention to establish a branch at Tangier. Conversation with Spanish Minister respecting. Signs of movement in Spain to extend Spanish interests in Morocco	32
46	„ „	35	18,	Negotiations with Raisuli. Reports result of. Rumoured appointments given to Raisuli and his friends. Refers to No. 38	32
47	„ „	36	18,	French proposals made to Sultan. Now completed. Proposed establishment of small force of civil police at each port, of a State bank, of French control and inspection of custom-houses, of a cable to connect Tangier and western ports, and improvement of ports recommended (see No. 41)	32
48	„ „	37 Confidential	18,	Germany and Morocco. French Minister and Count de Chérisey consider German Representatives in Morocco are encouraging Sultan to resist French proposals (see No. 47) ..	33
49	„ „	38 Confidential	19,	French proposals made to Sultan. His Majesty has decided to accept proposals as to cable and for construction of roads and bridges, and will probably accept those as to reorganization of army (see Nos. 43, 47, and 48)	34
50	„ „	39	19,	Emperor's visit to Tangier. German Chargé d'Affaires says German Emperor will arrive on 31st March (see No. 41*)	34
51	Sir A. Nicolson ..	14 Tel. Confidential	25,	Germany and Morocco. Spanish Minister at Tangier says German Minister has warned Moorish Government against any departure from international equality of treatment in Morocco (see No. 48)	35

3

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
52	Mr. White ..	15 Tel.	Mar. 26, 1905	Control of Moorish forces. Kaïd Maclean ordered to assume during German Emperor's visit..	35
53	„ „	16 Tel.	26,	Kaïd Maclean's summons to Fez. He is to go as soon as German Emperor's visit is over. He requests instructions (see No. 52) ..	35
54	Sir F. Lascelles ..	74	23,	Germany and Morocco. Summary of German press views. German commercial interests and Emperor's renunciation of intention to obtain territorial advantages (see No. 42) ..	35
55	„ „ ..	75 Confidential	23,	Germany and Morocco. Conversation with French Ambassador respecting statement attributed to German Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier that Germany had no cognizance of Anglo-French Agreement. French Ambassador has received no definite reply to his inquiries on this point from German Government (see No. 42)	37
56	Mr. White.. ..	19 Tel.	27,	Kaïd Maclean's appointment to control of Moorish forces. Arrangement by which it shall not clash with position of French officer at Tangier. Refers to No. 52 ..	37
57	To Sir F. Bertie ..	138	27,	Kaïd Maclean. M. Cambon thinks it of no consequence if he commands troops at reception of Emperor (see No. 56) ..	38
58	Sir A. Nicolson ..	16 Tel.	28,	Emperor's visit. Minister for Foreign Affairs denies report of "Standard" correspondent that Spanish Minister at Tangier was to take part in Emperor's reception (see No. 50)	38
59	Mr. White.. ..	21 Tel.	28,	French proposals. French Minister has not yet received any answer (see Nos. 47 and 49)	38
60	„ „	23 Tel.	29,	Emperor's visit. Vice-Consul at Fez reports increased opposition to French proposals since receipt of news of (see Nos. 48 and 59)	39
61	To Mr. White ..	9 Tel.	30,	Emperor's visit. To avoid carefully any action which might be considered unfriendly to France (see No. 60)	39
61*	Mr. White.. ..	25 Tel.	31,	Emperor's visit. Landed. Received by Sultan and foreign Representatives. Left again in about an hour (see Nos. 50 and 58)	39*
62	Sir A. Nicolson ..	41	16,	Spanish interests in Morocco. Prospects of increasing commercial relations and establishing industrial enterprises in Morocco. Interview with Spanish Member of the Senate respecting (see No. 39)..	39
63	„ „ ..	46	23,	Emperor's visit. German Ambassador says that Emperor's visit was due to "simple curiosity" (see Nos. 54 and 61*).. ..	40
64	„ „ ..	47 Confidential	23,	French proposals to Sultan. M. de Villaurrutia thinks Sultan's opposition to French proposals will be strengthened by Emperor's visit (see No. 60)	40
65	„ „ ..	49 Confidential	26,	International equality of Morocco. Spanish Minister at Tangier says German Chargé d'Affaires there has informed Moorish Government that Germany would regard any modification of existing international equality in Morocco as a departure from traditional friendship between Germany and Morocco (see No. 51)	61

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
65*	Sir A. Nicolson ..	53	Mar. 29, 1905	German Emperor's visit to Tangier. *Démenti* by Minister for Foreign Affairs of "Standard" correspondent's statement that Spanish Colony at Tangier are organising anti-French demonstration at German Emperor's visit (see No. 61*)	42
66	Mr. White.. ..	44	25,	Emperor's visit. Local feeling in Morocco excited at Emperor's visit, which it is expected will strengthen Sultan's opposition to France. Transmits "Eco Mauritano" (see No. 64)	42
67	„ „	45	25,	French Loan. First year's interest paid up. Next year's receipts at custom-houses, on which French receive 60 per cent., not likely to be so satisfactory (see Part 24, No. 427)..	43
68	„ „	46	26,	Emperor's visit. German Emperor to be received by Sultan's great-uncle and three high officials (see No. 61*)	43
69	„ „	47	26,	French proposals made to Sultan. No definite reply yet made to. Information referred to in No. 43 not confirmed (see No. 64) ..	43
70	Sir F. Lascelles ..	81	29,	Emperor's visit to Tangier. German press maintains, that though not political, it can do no harm by reminding Moors of existence of Germany (see Nos. 54 and 65)	44
71	„ „ ..	83	30,	Germany and Morocco. Transmits extract from speech by Prince Bülow in Reichstag to effect that Germany seeks no political advantages in Morocco, but will insist on maintenance of open door (see Nos. 54 and 70)	44
72	Sir A. Nicolson ..	17 Tel.	31,	Germany and Morocco. German Ambassador's efforts to induce Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs to issue statement that Spain favoured *status quo* and open door in Morocco (see No. 65)	45
73	Mr. White	26 Tel. Secret	Apr. 1,	Emperor's visit. His remarks to Kaïd Maclean and German Colony respecting independence of Morocco (see No. 63)	46
74	To Sir A. Nicolson ..	10 Tel.	1,	Germany and Morocco. Approves encouragement given to Minister for Foreign Affairs to refuse German Ambassador's proposal in No. 72	46
75	Sir A. Nicolson ..	18 Tel. Confidential	3,	Germany and Morocco. Substance of No. 74 communicated to Minister for Foreign Affairs. French Ambassador will speak in same sense	46
76	Mr. White.. ..	27 Tel.	3,	Emperor's visit. Substance of his speeches to Sultan's great-uncle and at German Legation (See Nos. 68 and 73)	47
76*	„ „	28 Tel.	3,	German Minister at Tangier. Herr von Rosen to succeed Baron Mentzingen	47*
77	„ „	29 Tel.	3,	Emperor's visit. French Chargé d'Affaires thinks it will be impossible for French Minister to obtain Sultan's consent to proposals now (see No. 69)	47
78	Sir A. Nicolson ..	54	Mar. 31,	Maintenance of *status quo* and open door in Morocco. German Ambassador has urged Spanish Government to issue a Declaration saying they are in favour of maintenance of *status quo* and open door in Morocco (see No. 72)	47
79	Mr. White	30 Tel.	Apr. 4,	Coasting trade. Concession obtained by German Chargé d'Affaires	48

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
80	Sir F. Bertie ..	118	Apr. 3, 1905	Germany and Morocco. M. Delcassé, in Senate, says there is nothing in French action in Morocco to account for agitation in German press (see No. 42)	48
81	„ „ ..	15 Tel. Confidential	5,	Emperor's visit. French Government will ignore it unless addressed by German Government	49
82	To Sir E. Egerton ..	53	5,	Emperor's visit to Morocco. German Ambassador has informed Italian Ambassador that Emperor's visit to Morocco was a reply to French Minister's alleged claim to "speak as the mouthpiece of all Europe" (see No. 81)	49
83	Question asked in the House of Commons (Mr. Labouchere)	..	6,	Anglo-French Agreement. It was not communicated to German Government. Sultan of Morocco was not a party to it	49
84	Mr. White	31 Tel. Confidential	6,	Emperor's remarks to French Chargé d'Affaires respecting protection of commercial interests. Reports (see No. 73)	50
85	„ „	32 Tel.	6,	Tangier Harbour Concession. Vice-Consul at Fez reports given to German firms ..	50
86	Sir E. Egerton ..	28 Tel.	7,	Germany and Morocco. Minister for Foreign Affairs says German Emperor denies that Anglo-French Agreement was officially communicated to German Government (see Nos. 42 and 55)	50
87	„ „ ..	33 Tel.	8,	Germany and Morocco. Reply of Minister for Foreign Affairs to German Emperor, contradicting statement in No. 86 ..	50
88	Sir M. Durand ..	29 Tel.	8,	Germany and Morocco. German Ambassador has informed Minister for Foreign Affairs that Germany, not having been consulted as to Anglo-French Agreement, considers herself free to insist on open door in Morocco (see Nos. 78 and 86)	51
88*	To Sir M. Durand ..	37 Tel.	9,	Open door. To inform Minister for Foreign Affairs nothing contrary to in Anglo-French Agreement. Refers to No. 88	51*
89	Mr. White.. ..	49	1,	Account of German Emperor's landing at Tangier. Attempted anti-French demonstration by Spanish residents (see No. 65*) ..	51
90	„ „	50 Secret	1,	Germany's attitude towards Anglo-French Agreement. Emperor, in conversation with Kaïd Maclean, said he acknowledged no Agreement entered into with regard to Morocco, and looked upon Sultan as perfectly independent (see Nos. 73 and 86) ..	53
91	„ „	51 Confidential	2,	Emperor's visit. Has stiffened opposition to French proposals (see No. 66)	54
92	„ „	52 Confidential	2,	Resignation of late German Minister. Due to his attitude in recognizing special position of France on occasion of kidnapping of Perdicaris and Varley	55
93	„ „	53 Confidential	2,	Emperor's reception. Account of speeches exchanged between Emperor and Sultan's grand-uncle, as furnished to a journalist by German Chargé d'Affaires (see No. 76) ..	55

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
94	Mr. White	54	Apr. 4, 1905	Germany and Morocco. Transmits note from Minister for Foreign Affairs to German Chargé d'Affaires, communicated by latter, giving Germany same rights in coasting trade as Moorish or any other vessels, so long as any foreign Power has any special interests in Moorish ports (see No. 79) ..	56
95	Sir F. Lascelles ..	90	6,	German press. Summary of views and extracts. Applause of French Opposition attacks on Delcassé. International Conference suggested (see No. 70)	56
96	„ „ ..	91 Confidential	6,	Germany and Morocco. Conversation with Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who said German action was due to pretensions put forward by French Chargé d'Affaires in Morocco and French press (see No. 82) ..	58
97	Sir F. Plunkett ..	90 Confidential	7,	Austrian attitude towards Morocco question. Austria not much interested, but at present displeased at German action in Balkans ..	59
98	Sir F. Bertie ..	123	8,	Situation in Morocco. Statement made in Chamber by M. Delcassé on policy of French Government (see No. 80) ..	59
99	Mr. White	34 Tel.	10,	German officers for the Moorish army. Reported request for by Sultan, and Emperor's reply	60
100	„ „	35 Tel.	10,	Sultan's application to German Emperor for German officers for instructing officers in Moorish army. Matter to be held over till visit of German Minister to Fez (see No. 99)	60
101	Sir E. Egerton ..	57 Confidential	8,	Germany's attitude towards Anglo-French Agreement. German Emperor said to M. Tittoni, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at Naples, that German Government had not been officially informed of Anglo-French Agreement respecting Morocco as French Ambassador had told M. Tittoni (see No. 90)	60
102	Mr. White	36 Tel. Secret	11,	French proposals. Sultan has commenced discussion of with French Minister, who had used strong language but been warned by French Government to be more moderate (see Nos. 69 and 77)	60
103	Sir A. Nicolson ..	19 Tel.	11	International Conference on Morocco. German proposal for to Spanish Government. Reply given by French Ambassador on being consulted by Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs (see No. 95)	61
104	To Sir A. Nicolson ..	12 Tel.	11,	Conference. Agrees in No. 103 May make similar communication	61
105	Mr. White	37 Tel.	12,	Count Tattenbach to go on special Mission to Fez. Says he is only to thank Sultan, and has no political negotiations in view ..	61
105*	Sir E. Egerton ..	Telegraphic Private and Conf.	12,	Proposed Conference of the Powers on Morocco. French Ambassador has asked Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs whether German Emperor has suggested Conference. Considers French suspicions exaggerated, if not groundless (see No. 103)	61*

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
106	To Sir F. Bertie ..	196	Apr. 12, 1905	Proposed International Conference on Morocco. Informs of communication by M. Geoffray of telegram stating Germany intends to propose Conference, and asking that His Majesty's Government should decline to take part in it. M. Geoffray informed of action already taken by His Majesty's Government on hearing of matter from Madrid (see Nos. 74 and 105*)	62
107	Sir F. Bertie ..	127 Confidential	12,	Conference. M. Delcassé informed that His Majesty's Government had instructed Sir A. Nicolson to make same communication to Spanish Government as French Ambassador at Madrid, namely, that His Majesty's Government are confident Spain will reply in negative to German proposal (see No. 106)	62
108	To Sir E. Egerton ..	57	13,	Conference. Italian Ambassador's inquiries as to attitude of His Majesty's Government towards Conference. Italian Government apparently not yet decided what their answer shall be (see No. 105*) . ..	63
109	Mr. White	38 Tel.	14,	Germany and Morocco. German Minister says French action in Morocco has given great offence, and made it necessary for Germany to take action (see No. 96) ..	63
110	Sir A. Nicolson ..	21 Tel.	14,	Conference. Renewed German pressure on Minister for Foreign Affairs to consent to. Latter may yield (see Nos. 74 and 106) ..	64
111	„ „ ..	22 Tel.	14,	Conference. Minister for Foreign Affairs promises to tell German Ambassador Spain will take no step without previous understanding with France and Great Britain. Refers to No. 110	64
112	To Sir E. Egerton ..	52 Tel.	14,	Conference. Informs of communication of German suggestion to Italian Government. Italian Ambassador informed of objections of His Majesty's Government to (see No. 108)	64
113	Sir C. Hardinge ..	237 Confidential	4,	Germany's attitude towards Anglo-French Agreement. French Ambassador expresses appreciation of British support of France. Is certain M. Delcassé had spoken four times to German Ambassador respecting Morocco Agreement. Knows no reason for sudden change of German attitude (see No. 101) ..	65
114	Sir A. Nicolson ..	55 Confidential	3,	Open door in Morocco. German proposal that Spanish Government should issue Declaration in favour of open door, &c. Minister for Foreign Affairs says Spanish Government will not make any such Declaration. French Ambassador instructed to support Spanish Government in their attitude (see Nos. 78 and 88*)	66
115	„ „ ..	58 Very Conf.	6,	Spain and Morocco. Attempts by German Ambassador to lead King and Government into anti-French line of action, especially in small matters (see No. 114)	67
116	„ „ ..	59 Confidential	7,	Germany and Morocco. Conversation with Minister for Foreign Affairs. German attempts to weaken adherence of Spain to Franco-Spanish Convention Change of demeanour of German Ambassador (see Nos. 114 and 115)	67

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
117	Sir A. Nicolson ..	62	Apr. 11, 1905	Conference. German Ambassador has informed Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs that his Government consider Conference necessary to maintain open door. Before replying, Minister for Foreign Affairs consults British and French Ambassadors, who raise similar objections to Conference (see No. 114) ..	68
118	„ „ ..	63	12,	Conference. Transmits identic letter addressed by himself and French Ambassador to Minister for Foreign Affairs, saying that any proposal to summon should be met by a refusal (see No. 117)	69
119	Mr. White	55 Confidential	6,	Emperor at Tangier. In conversation with French Chargé d'Affaires, referred only to protection of German commercial interests, not to political status of Morocco (see Nos. 70 and 84)	70
120	„ „	56 Confidential	6,	Germany and Morocco. Satisfaction of foreign residents at German policy due to fear of extension of French privileged position (see Nos. 66 and 89)	70
121	„ „	59	9,	Concession for Tangier Harbour works. French Minister thinks cannot have been given to Germans, as a French Company has already begun work on, on strength of a previous contract (see No. 85)	71
122	„ „	60	9,	French proposals. Reports from Fez. State negotiations suspended until Sultan has received Emperor's message (see No. 102)..	71
123	„ „	61	9,	Rise in price of grain in Morocco. Consequent poverty and discontent. Rise occasioned by drought and failure of crops ..	72
124	„ „	62	9,	Raisuli's appointment to be Governor of the Fars and Gharbia districts. Local authorities have received no official notification from Court. Raisuli's distrust of Kaïd el-Shirgi probably well founded. Refers to No. 46 ..	72
125	Sir E. Egerton ..	37 Tel.	16,	Conference. United States' Minister for Foreign Affairs has told Italian Ambassador that United States object to (see No. 112) ..	72
126	Sir A. Nicolson ..	23 Tel.	17,	Spanish policy. French Ambassador and self convinced Minister for Foreign Affairs will not yield to German pressure, in spite of rumours to the contrary (see No. 118) ..	73
127	Sir M. Durand ..	31 Tel. Confidential	17,	Conference. Acting Secretary of State said nothing about United States' attitude, but believes German Minister at Tangier has some ulterior motive (see No. 125) ..	73
128	Sir A. Nicolson ..	66	14,	Conference. To inquiry from Spanish Ambassador as to how Spain would receive German proposal for a Conference, Minister for Foreign Affairs has replied they could not possibly adhere unless France and His Majesty's Government agree (see No. 126)..	73
129	„ „ ..	67	14,	Conference. In conversation with Minister for Foreign Affairs German Ambassador appears to have suggested that Anglo-French and Franco-Spanish Agreements should be brought before it. Advantages of French proposals pointed out to Minister for Foreign Affairs (see Nos. 90 and 128)	74
130	Sir E. Egerton ..	40 Tel. Confidential	18,	Conference. Italian Ambassador at Berlin reports French Minister for Foreign Affairs willing to discuss matters with Germany ..	75

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
131	Mr. Lister	19 Tel.	Apr. 19, 1905	M. Delcassé. Attack on in Chamber by MM. Jaurés and Deschanel	75
132	To Sir F. Bertie ..	226	19,	British Mission to Fez. Informs of proposal of French Minister that Mr. Lowther should visit Fez during stay of French Mission. Answered it should be arranged if possible ..	75
133	Mr. Lowther ..	39 Tel.	20,	Demonstration made by neighbouring tribes against Dar-al-Baida. Reports (see No. 22)	75
134	Mr. Lister	142	20,	M. Delcassé. Attack on his policy in the Chamber (see No. 131)	76
135	Mr. Lowther ..	40 Tel.	21,	Mission to Fez (see No. 132). Proposed arrangements. Could not be ready to start under a month. Refers to No. 137 ..	76
136	Sir A. Nicolson ..	24 Tel. Confidential	21,	France and Germany. French Ambassador anxious Sir F. Lascelles should speak to Emperor, particularly respecting suspension of German Mission to Fez pending result of negotiations	77
136*	Mr. Lister	22 Tel.	21,	France and Germany. M. Louis says French Government are still waiting for Germany to take some step. French negotiations in Morocco proceeding as before	77*
137	To Mr. Lowther ..	20 Tel.	21,	Mission to Fez. Advisable he should be at Fez simultaneously with French Minister. Could this be arranged? (see No. 132) ..	77
138	Mr. White	63	12,	Count Tattenbach. Appointed Acting German Minister. Will proceed to Fez to thank Sultan for Emperor's reception, not, he says, to open any negotiations (see No. 105) ..	77
139	„ „	64 Confidential	12,	Personal opinions of Count Tattenbach on German policy and interests in Morocco. His suggestion for exercise of control by a concert of Powers (see No. 117)	77
140	„ „	65	14,	Attempted assassination of Mr. Harris. Inquiry held by Basha into. Prisoner suffering from religious madness	79
141	„ „	66	15,	Reported German loan to Sultan. Latter prevented from raising fresh loan except in France by clauses in French Loan Contract	79
142	Sir A. Nicolson ..	70	18,	Count Tattenbach's Mission. Conversation with French Ambassador respecting expediency of postponement of Mission in view of opening of Franco-German negotiations (see No. 138)	79
143	Mr. Lister	145	21,	M. Delcassé. His position in the Chamber weakened by recent attack. Refers to No. 134	80
144	To Sir F. Lascelles ..	59 Tel.	23,	Proposal that Sir F. Lascelles should speak to German Emperor as to German interests in Morocco. Asks for views on (see No. 136)	81
145	To Sir F. Bertie ..	61 Tel.	23,	Possible German demand for Moorish port. To inform Minister for Foreign Affairs His Majesty's Government are prepared to join in strong opposition to such a proposal ..	82
146	Sir F. Lascelles ..	114 Confidential	20,	Germany and Morocco. Conversation with Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who repeated former arguments in justification of German policy, and said he thought best way of avoiding complications was an exchange of views between Madrid Convention Powers (see Nos. 96 and 139)	82

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
147	Sir F. Lascelles ..	116 Confidential	Apr. 21, 1905	Germany and Morocco. Conversation with French Ambassador respecting interview with Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs (see No. 146). His Excellency said latter seemed determined not to accept explanation given in French Memorandum	83
148	Mr. Lowther ..	41 Tel.	24,	German Mission to Fez. Starts sooner than was expected. Probably about 1st May (see No. 138)	83
149	Sir F. Lascelles ..	10 Tel.	24,	Proposed conversation with Emperor. Thinks it would be injudicious, especially any mention of suspension of Mission to Fez (see No. 144)	84
150	To Mr. Lowther ..	22 Tel.	24,	Mission to Fez. To start as soon as possible. Refers to No. 135	84
150*	Sir F. Bertie ..	28 Tel. Confidential	24,	Germany and Moorish port. French Government have no information, but will instruct Minister at Tangier to warn Sultan. Refers to No. 145	84*
151	To Sir F. Lascelles ..	60 Tel.	25,	Proposed conversation with Emperor. "No doubt you are right." Refers to No. 149	84
151*	To Sir A. Nicolson ..	17 Tel. Confidential	25,	Proposed conversation with Emperor. Informs of Nos. 149 and 151	84*
152	Mr. Lowther ..	42 Tel. Confidential	26,	France and Germany. German Legation say they warned French Minister at Tangier last November that Germany expected France to come to terms with them, but that French Minister did not inform his Government of this (see No. 136*)	84
153	Sir M. Durand ..	35 Tel. Secret	26,	Germany and Morocco. German Emperor has told President he fears His Majesty's Government will support France by force on Morocco question. Latter would like to be able to reassure Emperor	84
154	To Sir M. de Bunsen	21	26,	Conference. Portuguese Minister says German Minister at Lisbon had spoken to Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs on subject	85
155	Sir F. Bertie ..	156 Confidential	25,	Possible German demand for Moorish port. Conversation with M. Delcassé respecting German negotiations and assurances given him that His Majesty's Government will join French Government in resisting strongly any German attempt to acquire a port. Refers to No. 150*	85
156	„ „ ..	32 Tel. Confidential	27,	France and Germany. M. Delcassé says Germany has made no reply to his offer of explanations (see No. 147)	87
157	Nil.				
158	To Sir M. Durand ..	50 Tel.	27,	Germany and Morocco. Reassuring message for President as to British designs on Germany. Refers to No. 153 ..	87
159	Mr. Lowther ..	43 Tel.	28,	Germany and Moorish port. Unlikely German Minister will make any demand for while at Fez (see No. 155)	88

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
160	Mr. Spring-Rice ..	277	Apr. 25, 1905	Franco-German relations with regard to Morocco. Attitude of Russian press. Friendly attitude towards Germany. Soreness as to friendliness displayed by Germany towards Japan. English alliance cannot compensate France for loss or decay of Russian alliance	88
161	„ „ ..	281	25,	Russian attitude on Morocco question. Conversation with French Ambassador. His Excellency thinks Russia cannot afford to offend Germany, but disapproves of her policy (see No. 160)	88
162	Sir F. Bertie ..	158 Confidential	27,	Germany and Morocco. M. Delcassé says German Government have made no reply to his offer of explanations, and he does not understand what are German Emperor's objects. Extends No. 156 .. .	89
163	„ „ ..	161 Confidential	28,	Germany and Morocco. M. Delcassé denies German statement that French Minister at Tangier had claimed any mandate to speak for other Powers (see Nos. 96 and 109) ..	90
164	Sir F. Lascelles ..	119 Confidential	27,	Conference. Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs still favours exchange of views between Madrid Convention Powers and says German Government do not consider Anglo-French Agreement was communicated to them (see Nos. 113 and 146)	90
165	Mr. Lowther ..	69	19,	Anglo-Moorish relations. Conversation with Sultan's Acting Commissioner respecting. Moorish Government solely concerned for tranquillity and security of the country. Desire of His Majesty's Government to maintain cordial relations. Anglo-French Agreement does not concern Moorish Government	90
166	„ „ ..	70	20,	Demonstration made by tribesmen against Dar-al-Baida. Reports. Unrest in the country owing to failure of crops and want of work (see No. 133)..	91
167	„ „ ..	71	21,	Proposals of French Minister to Moorish Government. Result of second and third meetings between him and Viziers and Council of Notables. Transmits précis of Minutes and of proposals (see No. 122)	91
168	„ „ ..	72	21,	Concession for Tangier Harbour works. Conversation between British and German Vice-Consuls at Fez on present position of German scheme. Refers to No. 121 ..	94
169	„ „ ..	73	21,	German instructors for Moorish army. Inquiries by French Vice-Consul as to rumour. German Vice-Consul at Fez says his Government would not consent to any such arrangement (see No. 100)	95
170	„ „ ..	74	22,	Germany and Morocco. French Chargé d'Affaires thinks Count Tattenbach still has no instructions. German policy undoubtedly approved by Moors and foreign residents, especially Spaniards (see No. 120) .	95
171	„ „ ..	75	22,	French reforms. French Chargé d'Affaires says military part of programme nearly settled. Thinks financial part of less importance, as Germans could not offer better terms for loan than French (see No. 167)	96
172	„ „ .	76	26,	Mission to Fez. Asks for instructions (see No. 137)	96

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
173	To Sir F. Bertie ..	258	May 3, 1905	Germany's attitude towards Anglo-French Agreement. French Ambassador says Anglo-French Agreement was communicated to German Government at time of its conclusion, and that latter raised no objections to it. His Excellency thinks German object may be to get rid of M. Delcassé, or to secure a Moorish port (see Nos. 150* and 164) ..	97
174	To Sir M. de Bunsen	24	3,	Germany's attitude towards Anglo-French Agreement. Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires says German Minister at Lisbon has informed Portuguese Government that Anglo-French Agreement was not communicated to Germany (see No. 173)	98
175	Sir C. Phipps ..	42 Confidential	3,	Belgian application for Fishing Concession on Moorish coast. All such applications to be made through the French Legation. French Minister would resent any attempt on part of Belgian Government to depart from this understanding	98
176	Sir A. Nicolson ..	72 Confidential	Apr. 22,	Germany and Morocco. French Ambassador says it would be very advantageous if Sir F. Lascelles could urge German Emperor to postpone Tattenbach's Mission to Fez pending negotiations between France and Germany (see No. 149)	99
177	„ „ ..	74	27,	Conference. Minister for Foreign Affairs has been informed by German Ambassador that, now a Conference is unlikely, German Government will approach Powers individually (see No. 164)	100
178	Mr. Lowther ..	77	28,	Negotiations between Sultan and French Mission. At a stand-still pending Count Tattenbach's arrival at Fez. Latter says his Government cannot now seek special concessions (see No. 171)	100
179	„ „ ..	78 Confidential	28,	German Mission to Fez. Count Tattenbach, on leaving for Fez, expresses intention of doing all he can to upset French reform proposals. German action prompted (1) by alleged want of consideration shown by France for Germany; (2) by desire to maintain open door (see No. 178)	100
180	„ „ ..	79	29,	Proposals of French Minister to Moorish Government respecting maintenance of order on Algerian frontier. Transmits précis of fourth meeting of Minister with Viziers and Council of Notables. Refers to No. 167 ..	102
181	„ „ ..	80	30,	Raisuli's appointment as Basha of the country round Tangier. Attempt on the part of the Government to deprive him of a portion of his sphere of authority and its result. Refers to No. 124	103
181*	Sir A. Nicolson ..	27 Tel.	May 5,	Spain and Germany. German Ambassador's strong protest against Spanish Mission to Fez (see No. 126)	104*
182	„ „ ..	83	2,	New Spanish Minister in Morocco. To proceed to Fez as soon as possible on arrival to show "solidarity of views and interests between Great Britain, France, and Spain" (see No. 128)	104
183	Sir N. O'Conor ..	293 Confidential	1,	Turkish Mission to Morocco. Proposal made by German Ambassador at Constantinople that Sultan should send special Mission to Morocco referred to Turkish Ambassador at Paris, who advised waiting to see results of French and German action before complying	104

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
184	Sir H. Howard ..	76 Confidential	May 4, 1905	Conference. German Government have officially informed Dutch Government they consider it only means of settling Morocco question (see No. 164)	105
184*	Sir A. Nicolson ..	29 Tel.	8,	Spain and Germany. Spain temporizing over question of Mission to Fez. Minister for Foreign Affairs says German Ambassador says he was acting under instructions. Refers to No. 185 (see No. 181*)	105*
185	To Sir A. Nicolson ..	24 Tel.	8,	Spain and Germany. German Ambassador's action extraordinary. Can he have acted without instructions? Refers to No. 181* ..	105
186	To Sir F. Bertie ..	279	8,	Spanish Mission to Fez. Conversation with French Ambassador. Efforts of Germany to detach Spain from France and Great Britain (see No. 182)	106
187	To Mr. Lowther ..	41 Confidential	8,	British Mission to Fez. On arrival at Fez, to present credentials, &c., urge Moorish Government to settle outstanding British claims, and give a general support to French proposals. Refers to No. 172	106
188	Sir E. Egerton ..	72 Confidential	5,	Possibility of war between Germany and France. German Ambassador, in conversation with "a leading Italian statesman," has hinted at possibility of war with France ..	107
189	Nil.				
190	Mr. Herbert ..	17	8,	German views on Morocco question. Opinions of gentlemen of Emperor's staff on question. Matter treated as one capable of arrangement	108
191	Mr. Lowther ..	83	1,	Mission to Fez. Hopes to leave Tangier on 17th instant to present credentials (see No. 187)	108
192	„ „ ..	84	2,	Reform of Moorish army proposed to Sultan by French Minister. Transmits Memorandum by Mr. Vice-Consul McLeod respecting information received from a reliable source as to (see Nos. 171 and 180)	109
193	„ „ ..	85	2,	German Mission to Fez. Reports departure of Count Tattenbach (see No. 179) ..	110
194	„ „ ..	87	5,	French appreciation of action of His Majesty's Government in recent affairs connected with Morocco. French Chargé d'Affaires has conveyed it, under instructions from M. Delcassé	110
195	„ „ ..	88	5,	Unrest amongst the tribes. Reports. Blackmail demanded of caravans (see No. 166) ..	110
196	„ „ ..	89 Confidential	5,	Kaïd Maclean's views on situation. Sultan's hopes from German Mission. Kaïd's suggestion that France should undertake defeat of Pretender, and pose as friend of Sultan ..	111
197	„ „ ..	90	6,	German instructors for Sultan's army. French Legation anxious as to possibility of. Hints thrown out by German Legation as to General Schenck's business with the Mission (see No. 169)	111
198	„ „ ..	91	6,	German Mission to Fez. Count Tattenbach has taken Red Eagle for presentation to Sultan. Refers to No. 193 ..	112

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
199	Sir A. Nicolson ..	85	May 5, 1905	Spanish Mission to Fez. German Ambassador has informed Minister for Foreign Affairs that his Government would consider its dispatch an "unfriendly" or "anti-German" action (see No. 186)	112
200	To Sir F. Bertie ..	307 Secret	17,	Question of Germany obtaining a Moorish port. Conversation with M. Cambon. The two Governments should treat one another with absolute confidence (see No. 173)	113
201	Mr. Lowther ..	95	12,	Arrival of new Spanish Minister. Hoisting of French flag taken as an indication of cordial relations between Spain and France (see No. 182)	114
202	„ „ ..	97	13,	Financial proposals made by French Minister to Moorish Government. Transmits précis of those made at meeting of 9th March (see No. 180)	114
203	„ „ ..	99	13,	Improvement of Tangier Bay. Request received from British-protected subject to make soundings, plans, &c. Presumes it should be submitted to Makhzen ..	116
204	„ „ ..	100	15,	German Mission to Fez. Transmits despatch from Vice-Consul at Fez reporting arrival of (see No. 198)	116
205	„ „ ..	52 Tel.	22,	German loan to Sultan. Has heard rumours of proposal made by German Minister (see No. 141)	117
206	Mr. White.. ..	53 Tel.	23,	German Mission to Fez. German Chargé d'Affaires says Sultan anxious to submit reforms to foreign Representatives at Tangier, and denies acceptance of French proposals (see Nos. 179 and 204)	117
207	„ „	Separate Telegraphic	24,	Moorish reforms. German Minister reported to have advised Sultan to reject French proposals (see Nos. 48 and 167)	117
208	To Sir F. Bertie ..	328	24,	German Mission to Fez. Count Tattenbach's first interview with Sultan. French Minister says Count Tattenbach told Sultan French policy was not supported in France, and offered financial assistance from Germany, and Turkish instructors for Moorish army (see No. 206)	118
209	To Mr. Lowther ..	49	24,	Improvement of Tangier Bay. Acknowledges No. 203. No objection to request being submitted to Moorish Government	118
210	Mr. White.. ..	Separate Telegraphic	25,	Moorish reforms. German Minister's reported promise of support to Sultan against France, and suggestion as to training of Moors in Germany. Refers to No. 207 ..	118
211	Mr. Lowther ..	102	17,	Employment of Belgians as officials of Moorish Government. Count Chérisey thinks it preferable to employment of Germans. Belgian Minister has not heard of proposal	119
212	„ „ ..	103	17,	Turkish Mission to Fez. Count Chérisey thinks it would be of no assistance to Germans, owing to unpopularity of Turks in Morocco (see No. 183)..	119
213	„ „ ..	105	20,	Menebhi's views on foreign Missions to Fez. Transmits account of conversation between him and Major Lowther. Sultan and people cannot tolerate French. Menebhi hopes that Powers will conjointly urge measures of reform	119

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
214	Sir A. Nicolson ..	96	May 19, 1905	Projected Spanish Mission to Fez. Illness of M. Llaveria, the Minister. The King wishes the Mission to proceed notwithstanding (see No. 199)	120
215	Mr. Wyldbore Smith	Telegraphic	30,	Spanish Mission to Fez. Spanish Minister has asked permission to postpone till September (see No. 214)	120
216	Native Races and Liquor Traffic United Committee	..	30,	Importation of liquor into Morocco. Suggests that, Representatives of England, France, and Germany being at Fez, some arrangement might be made by which Moors might have protection from dangers arising from free importation, which is provided in other parts of Africa	121
217	Mr. Wyldbore Smith	Telegraphic	31,	Conference. French Minister reports refusal of his proposals for army reform and Sultan's intention to invite foreign Representatives at Tangier to discuss matter at a Conference (see Nos. 184 and 210)..	121
218	To Sir F. Bertie ..	357	June 1,	Proposed European Conference on Morocco. Conversation with French Ambassador. Sultan inclined to yield to German arguments in favour of. Conference would be clearly out of place (see No. 217)	121
219	Mr. Lowther ..	106	May 22,	German Mission to Fez. Enthusiastic reception of German Mission by Government troops and people at Buryan (see No. 208)	122
220	„ „ ..	107	23,	German Mission to Fez. Count Tattenbach's interviews with Sultan. German Chargé d'Affaires says Sultan wishes to submit reforms to Representatives of Powers at Tangier (see No. 217)	122
221	„ „ ..	108	23,	German instructors for Moorish army. German officers reported to have said they had hopes of introducing (see No. 197) ..	123
222	„ „ ..	109	25,	German activity near Dar-al-Baida. Germans buying all possible land at Fedallah, which could be made a good port, and is best site for factories and warehouses	123
223	„ „ ..	110 Very Conf.	25,	German Mission at Fez. Court people suspicious of German attitude. Disaccord between Makhzen and Mission (see No. 220)	123
224	„ „ ..	54 Tel.	31,	Mission to Fez. Reports arrival. Conference. Informs of Sultan's invitation by his request (see Nos. 191 and 220)	124
225	„ „ ..	55 Tel.	31,	Conference. German Minister has assured Sultan his Government has taken no steps to bring about (see No. 224). German loan. German Minister has suggested a port or tract of land in Sûs as security (see Nos. 159 and 205)	124
226	Mr. Wyldbore Smith..	Telegraphic	June 8,	Proposed Conference on Morocco. Invitation from Makhzen received from Sultan's Commissioner at Fez (see No. 224)	124
227	Sir F. Lascelles ..	149	May 31,	Dr. Rosen's departure for Morocco. No date fixed yet (see No. 76*)	125
228	Sir M. Durand ..	52 Tel.	June 5,	Conference. United States' Government has told German Government they will not adhere to as long as France objects (see No. 127)	125

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
229	To Mr. Lowther ..	30 Tel.	June 5, 1905	Conference. To inform Sultan of His Majesty's Government's strong objections to. Refers to No. 224	125
230	To Sir F. Bertie ..	363	5,	Proposed Conference on Morocco. Conversation with French Ambassador. Proposal seems most ill-advised, and His Majesty's Government do not wish to encourage it. French Government share this opinion. United States' Government would probably not be well disposed towards a Conference (see Nos. 218 and 228)	125
231	To Sir M. Durand ..	150	5,	Proposed Conference on Morocco. Conversation with United States' Ambassador, who expresses general concurrence with views of His Majesty's Government. Refers to No. 228	126
232	Sir M. Durand ..	54 Tel.	6,	Conference. Views of United States' Government same as those of His Majesty's Government (see No. 228)	126
233	Sir E. Egerton ..	67 Tel. Confidential	6,	Rumoured German threat to attack France. Reports communication to Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs by German Ambassador. Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs attaches small importance to (see No. 188) ..	126
234	Sir F. Bertie ..	40 Tel.	6,	M. Delcassé. Reports resignation. M. Rouvier his successor	127
235	Mr. Lister	41 Tel. Secret	6,	Anglo-French understanding. Prime Minister tells "Times" correspondent attitude of French Government would not be altered by M. Delcassé's resignation	127
236	Mr. Johnstone ..	25 Tel.	6,	Conference. Austrian Government have received Sultan's invitation, and are asking views of foreign Governments before replying (see No. 224)	127
237	Vice-Consul Smith ..	..	1,	French proposals for reorganization of Sultan's army. Council of Notables have advised Sultan not to accept. French Minister informed by Ben Sliman of Sultan's intention to issue invitations for Conference (see No. 210)	127
238	Mr. Lister	42 Tel. Confidential	7,	Anglo-French understanding. M. Rouvier says he will maintain as before. He undoubtedly wishes to arrange matters with Germany (see No. 235)	128
239	To Sir F. Lascelles ..	128	7,	Sultan's proposal for a Conference. German Ambassador has communicated Circular from his Government informing of invitation and acceptance by Germany, with German motives (see Nos. 177 and 236)	128
240	To Sir F. Bertie ..	364	7,	Conference. Conversation with French Ambassador respecting. His Excellency says that only French proposal which could be considered as opposed to general most-favoured-nation treatment was the clause in Anglo-French Convention limiting most-favoured-nation treatment for other Powers to next thirty years	129
241	To Sir M. Durand ..	151	7,	Conference. United States' Ambassador says his Government have informed German Ambassador they cannot take part in Conference unless France agrees to it (see No. 232)	130

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
242	To Sir E. Egerton ..	93	June 7, 1905	Conference. Italian Ambassador informed that His Majesty's Government had not yet decided how to reply to Conference proposal. Warlike language of German Ambassador at Rome (see No. 233)	131
243	Sir F. Bertie ..	43 Tel.	8,	Conference. M. Delcassé stated to have said at Council of Ministers that French, Spanish, and British Governments should refuse in identic note. Colleagues disagreed ..	131
244	Mr. Wyldbore Smith..	Telegraphic	8,	Visit of part of French Mediterranean squadron to Tangier. Will take place on 14th June..	132
245	To Mr. Lowther ..	35 Tel.	8,	Conference. Informs of German Circular to Powers, supporting Sultan's proposal, and reply of His Majesty's Government to. Refers to Nos. 229 and 239	132
246	To Sir F. Lascelles ..	131	8,	Sultan's proposed Conference. Reply to German Ambassador that His Majesty's Government will await decision of French Government (see No. 239)	132
247	To Mr. Cartwright ..	64 Confidential	8,	Conference. Agreement with Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs to await decision of French Government before replying to German Circular (see No. 246). Proposal for Agreement with Spain to guarantee their retention of important strategic points (see No. 243)	133
248	Mr. White.. ..	Separate	May 23,	German Mission to Fez. Count Tattenbach's interviews with Sultan. Sultan appears to wish to submit to reforms proposed by foreign Representatives at Tangier. Prussian Order of the Crown of the First Class bestowed upon all the Viziers (see No. 223) ..	134
249	Mr. Lowther ..	56 Tel.	June 4,	Concessions to Germany. French Minister anxious, but Minister for Foreign Affairs says none granted yet. French Minister thinks refusals to attend Conference should be sent promptly (see No. 225)	135
250	„ „ ..	57 Tel.	5,	Moorish reforms. Responsibility for to be thrown on meeting of Notables (see No. 237). Conference. Possibility of refusals apparently not contemplated	135
251	Sir E. Egerton ..	68 Tel.	9,	Conference. German Circular not yet answered by Italian Government (see Nos. 242 and 245)	135
252	Mr. Johnstone ..	26 Tel.	9,	Conference. German Circular received by Austro-Hungarian Government, who will accept if Powers interested do so. Refers to No. 236	135
253	To Sir F. Bertie ..	372	9,	Conference. French Ambassador says German Government have communicated their Circular at Paris and Washington. That French Government had not demanded right to direct internal or external affairs of Morocco (see No. 239)	136
254	To Native Races and Liquor Traffic United Committee	..	9,	Importation of liquor into Morocco. Copy of No. 216 sent to His Majesty's Representative in Morocco, with instructions to consult his French colleague as to any steps they may be able to take in the matter while at Fez	136
255	Mr. Lowther ..	58 Tel. Confidential	7,	Conference. Refusals by France, Spain, and His Majesty's Government should be followed by that of some other Power to increase effect on Sultan (see No. 243)	136

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
256	Mr. Lowther ..	59 Tel.	June 7, 1905	Turkish Mission to Fez. Would be unpopular in Morocco, even though prompted by Germany (see No. 212) ..	136
257	Sir M. de Bunsen ..	50 Confidential	8,	Conference. German Government have informed Portuguese Government of their acceptance of Sultan's invitation. Portuguese awaiting views of His Majesty's Government before replying (see No. 242)	137
258	Mr. Wyldbore Smith..	Telegraphic	11,	Visit of French war-ships to Tangier. Not to take place, probably from desire to avoid offence to Germany (see No. 244)	137
259	Mr. Lowther ..	111	May 30,	Conference. Vice-Consul, Fez, reports Sultan has accepted German suggestion that he should summon a Conference, but declined other proposals. French Minister threatens withdrawal of facilities on Algerian frontier (see No. 224)	137
260	„ „ ..	112	31,	British Mission to Fez. His arrival at Fez and reception. Reports (see No. 224) ..	138
261	„ „ ..	113	June 1,	Sultan's invitation to Conference. Transmits note from Cid Mohammed Torres (see No. 224)	138
262	„ „ ..	115	1,	Germany and Morocco. French Minister thinks Count Tattenbach will seek concessions from Sultan in return for German support. He hopes we shall convince Sultan we are in complete agreement with France (see No. 249)	139
263	„ „ ..	116	1,	German Mission at Fez. Count Tattenbach says Sultan has rejected French proposals; that Conference was suggested by Moors; that he had not proposed a German loan, nor had Makhzen asked for one (see Nos. 237 and 239)	139
264	„ „ ..	60 Tel.	9,	Conference. Refusal of His Majesty's Government communicated to Moorish Government, who seem to think it can take place even if Powers interested refuse (see No. 245)	140
265	„ „ ..	61 Tel.	9,	Tangier Harbour Concession. Given to German Minister. Sultan entirely under his influence (see No. 168)..	140
266	Sir E. Egerton ..	69 Tel.	13,	Conference. Italian Government will accept if all Powers agree (see No. 251).. ..	140
267	„ „ ..	70 Tel. Confidential	13,	France and Germany. Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs suspects some ulterior German design (see No. 242)	140
268	Mr. Lowther ..	Telegraphic Confidential	10,	French Mission to Fez. French Minister has suggested he should withdraw (see No. 237)	141
269	„ „ ..	62 Tel.	11,	Alleged French ultimatum. Does not believe in. Refers to No. 233	141
270	Sir C. Hardinge ..	98 Tel.	14,	Proposed Conference on Morocco. Russian Government not disposed to accept Sultan's invitation (see Nos. 161 and 255) ..	141
271	Sir F. Bertie ..	44 Tel.	14,	France and Germany. German Ambassador has spoken about Morocco, but French Minister for Foreign Affairs cannot discover what Germany wants (see No. 267) ..	141

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
272	To Sir F. Bertie ..	387	June 14, 1905	Conference. Conversation with French Ambassador. M. Rouvier has told Prince Radolin that Conference would be useless and dangerous without previous agreement between France and Germany. French Ambassador informed of No. 239 (see No. 271)	142
273	Sir F. Lascelles ..	160 Most Conf.	12,	Anglo-German relations. Conversation with Prince Bülow	142
274	„ „ ..	161 Most Conf.	12,	Anglo-German relations. Conversation with Prince Holstein	144
275	Mr. Wyldbore Smith..	Telegraphic	15,	Conference. Accepted in principle by Austria and Italy, who have accepted Sultan's invitation conditionally (see Nos. 236 and 266) .	145
276	Sir C. Phipps ..	59 Confidential	13,	Belgian officials for Moorish Government. Conversation with French Minister, who is not in favour of employment of (see No. 211)	145
2 6*	To Mr. Lowther ..	37 Tel.	15,	Concessions. May remind Sultan that if any are granted to one Power they may also be claimed by others. Refers to No. 265 ..	145*
277	Mr. Lowther ..	64 Tel.	12,	Alleged French ultimatum. Grounds on which German Minister circulated report of. Effects of His Majesty's Government's refusal of Conference (see No. 269)	146
278	Sir A. Nicolson ..	39 Tel.	16,	Germany and Spain. German bluff. Minister for Foreign Affairs unwilling to give way to (see No. 199)	146
279	To Sir F. Lascelles ..	136	16,	Germany's attitude towards Anglo-French Agreement. German Ambassador informed no offensive and defensive alliance between His Majesty's Government and France had ever been proposed. Approves language in Nos. 273 and 274 (see also No. 174) ..	146
280	To Sir F. Bertie ..	393	16,	Conference. Prince Radolin has urged M. Rouvier to accept Conference in principle. Negotiations might then be opened which would make it unnecessary. Difficulties in Morocco threatened unless proposal accepted. French Ambassador informed that His Majesty's Government would continue to decline Conference as long as French Government did so (see No. 272)	147
281	Mr. Lowther ..	117	2,	American loan. Rumour of. Discredited by French Minister	148
282	„ „ ..	118 Confidential	2,	French proposals. French Minister says Sultan did accept reforms in principle, but has no doubt he has now denied this (see No. 263)	148
283	„ „ ..	121 Confidential	4,	Conference. French Minister wishes to be able to refuse without delay. German Minister has apparently made no actual progress so far (see No. 280)	149
284	„ „ ..	122	4,	Tangier and Oojdah garrisons. 500 men of Fez garrison leaving for Tangier to replace 500 to be sent to Oojdah	149
285	„ „ ..	123 Confidential	5,	Conference. Conversation with Ministers respecting irregular manner in which invitation to Conference had been issued. Reality of Anglo-French *entente* emphasized (see No. 224)	150

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
286	Mr. Lowther ..	125	June 6, 1905	British Mission to Fez. Audience of Sultan. Reports. No politics (see No. 260) ..	151
287	„ „ ..	126	7,	Views of Viziers and others on situation. France most unpopular. Moors ignorant of possible effects of Conference. Germans not likely to get concessions	152
288	„ „ ..	128 Confidential	7,	Contraband trade with Pretender. Makhzen have informed French Minister of capture of caravan containing arms of French make for Pretender, and asked him to stop such traffic	153
289	„ „ ..	129 Confidential	7,	Conference. Conversation with French Minister respecting effect on Moorish Government of refusal of Powers to take part in Conference. French Minister thinks it will only lead to further delay, and that he might as well present his claims and reform proposals and leave Fez (see No. 283)	153
290	„ „ ..	130 Confidential	7,	Possible German attempt to acquire Moorish port. Rumour that Germany has asked for port of Mehedia. French Minister has no information, but will make inquiries (see No. 155)	154
291	Consul Maclean ..	20	7,	Murder of Mr. Daniel Madden at Mazagan. Reports circumstances of, and transmits medical certificate	154
292	„ „ ..	21	9,	Murder of Mr. Madden. Transmits correspondence from Vice-Consul Spinney, of Mazagan. Is leaving for Mazagan. Refers to No. 291	155
293	Sir E. Egerton ..	99 Confidential	10	Conference. Minister for Foreign Affairs will not answer German Circular without further information (see No. 266)	157
294	„ „ ..	102	13,	Conference. Minister for Foreign Affairs about to answer that Italy will join "if all the Powers, including those interested, decide to do so" (see No. 293)	157
295	„ „ ..	103 Confidential	13,	Germany and Morocco. Italian Ambassador at Paris reports M. Rouvier discouraged by German reserve. Minister for Foreign Affairs thinks Emperor has some ulterior design (see Nos. 267 and 272)	157
296	„ „ ..	105 Most Conf.	13,	Warlike language of German Ambassador at Rome. Italian attitude respecting (see No. 277)	158
297	Mr. Wyldbore Smith..	Separate	11,	Murder of Mr. Madden. Sultan's Deputy informed. He has provided letter to Governor of Mazagan, with instructions as to discovery and arrest of murderers (see No. 292) ..	158
298	Mr. Lowther ..	66 Tel.	14,	Alleged French ultimatum. Sultan asserts French Minister hinted at use of force. Does not believe it (see No. 277)	159
299	Sir A. Nicolson ..	40 Tel.	17,	Conference. German Ambassador's hope that way out might be found without having recourse to. Has informed French Ambassador	159
300	Mr. Johnstone ..	123 Confidential	10,	Conference. M. de Méréy says Austrian Government will accept Conference if other Powers interested do so. Austrian Government have "discovered" their commercial interests in Morocco are greater than they supposed (see No. 252)..	159

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
301	Mr. Whitehead ..	165	June 15, 1905	France and Morocco. Transmits article from "Frankfürter Zeitung" to effect that France might be intrusted with restoration of order	160
302	Sir F. Bertie ..	213	17,	Germany and Morocco. Transmits letter from "Gaulois," giving German view of situation. M. Rouvier says negotiations with Prince Radolin have not made much progress (see No. 280)	161
303	Sir A. Nicolson ..	41 Tel.	19,	France and Germany. Alleged offer by latter of abandonment of opposition in Morocco in return for French neutrality in any complications of Germany with another Power (see No. 299)	161
304	„ „ ..	43 Tel.	19,	France and Germany. Report in No. 303 only private opinion (and exaggerated) of French Minister for Foreign Affairs ..	162
305	Mr. Lowther ..	135	11,	Conference. Moorish Government originally intended not to invite Russia to Conference, presumably at suggestion of German Minister (see No. 270)..	162
306	Sir A. Nicolson ..	114	17,	German threats to Spain. Has suggested to Minister for Foreign Affairs that he should not pay too much attention to (see No. 278)	162
307	„ „ ..	115	17,	Germany and Morocco. German Ambassador much pleased at M. Delcassé's fall, as he had treated France cavalierly. His Excellency thinks Spanish Government are taking too "lofty" a tone about Morocco (see No. 306)	163
308	Mr. Lowther ..	67 Tel.	16,	Stoppage of passage of arms, &c., for Moorish Government through Algeria. Reported from Moorish sources (see No. 259) ..	164
309	Sir A. Nicolson ..	44 Tel.	20,	Spain and Germany. German attempt to induce President of Council to make pro-German communiqué to the press (see No. 306) ..	164
310	To Sir F. Bertie ..	400	21,	Conference. French Ambassador has communicated reply of his Government to German proposal. German Ambassador will be told that His Majesty's Government will not reply until they learn the result of Franco-German negotiations (see No. 280)..	164
311	To Sir E. Goschen ..	60	21,	Conference. Austrian, Italian, Russian, and Spanish Ambassadors informed that His Majesty's Government await result of Franco-German negotiations before replying as to Conference (see Nos. 247, 270, 293, and 300)	167
	„ Sir E. Egerton ..	100			
	„ Sir C. Hardinge ..	190			
	„ Sir A. Nicolson ..	72			
312	Mr. Lowther ..	131	9,	Loans to Morocco other than French. Transmits article from French Loan Contract of 1904, which guards against (see Nos. 263 and 281)	167
313	„ „ ..	132	9,	Conference. Moorish Government informed of decision of His Majesty's Government not to attend Conference of foreign Representatives at Tangier (see No. 311) ..	168
314	„ „ ..	133 Confidential	10,	Conference. Conversation with French Minister respecting reply of Belgian Government, who are seeking French support for a Belgian fish-curing Concession (see No. 175)	168
315	„ „ ..	134 Secret	10,	French reforms. Transmits summary of, communicated by French Minister (see No. 282)	169

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
316	Mr. Lowther ..	136	June 12, 1905	Harbour Concession to Germans at Tangier. Contract apparently not yet signed. French Minister thinks scheme less dangerous than at first supposed. No monopoly implied (see No. 265)	174
317	„ „ ..	137	12,	Conference. Verbal explanations by Minister for Foreign Affairs of Moorish action in summoning (in reply to His Majesty's Government's refusal) (see No. 313) ..	174
318	„ „ .	68 Tel.	17,	Stoppage of passage of arms through Algeria. French Minister says certain privileges withdrawn, but no formal communication made to Moorish Government yet. Refers to No. 308	175
318*	To Mr. Rennie ..	65 Tel.	22,	Conference. Informs of communiqué to foreign Representatives that His Majesty's Government would withhold reply to German Circular pending negotiations between Germany and France (see No. 311)	175*
	„ Sir E. Egerton ..	165 „			
	„ Sir C. Hardinge ..	211 „			
	„ Sir A. Nicolson ..	43 „			
319	Sir A. Nicolson ..	119	20,	Germany and Morocco. Spanish Ambassador in Paris says M. Rouvier thinks Germany would remove obstacles in Morocco and elsewhere in return for French neutrality in any future complications (see No. 303) ..	175
320	Mr. Wyldbore Smith..	Telegraphic	23,	Morocco Conference. Report in "Temps" that United States' Government will participate. M. Gummeré has no knowledge of it (see No. 232)	175
321	„ „ ..	Telegraphic	23,	Murder of Mr. Madden. Suspicions as to assassins. Governor of Mazagan nervous of popular revolt and afraid to take action (see No. 297)	176
322	To Sir E. Goschen ..	62	23,	Conference. Austro-Hungarian Ambassador hopes His Majesty's Government may accept, and if necessary use influence with France to do the same. Answered that His Majesty's Government still await result of Franco-German negotiations (see No. 311)..	176
323	To Mr. Whitehead ..	140	23,	Conference. German Ambassador informed of views of His Majesty's Government on M. Rouvier's reply to German Circular, and that His Majesty's Government will await result of Franco-German negotiations before replying (see Nos. 289 and 311).. ..	177
324	Sir F. Bertie ..	226 Confidential	22,	Germany and Morocco. Prince Radolin has stated to Spanish Ambassador that German action is due exclusively to their treatment by France in Morocco. Spanish Ambassador thinks Germany aims at creating future trouble in India by assuming rôle of protector of Mahommedans (see No. 109)	177
325	Mr. Lowther ..	69 Tel.	20,	Stoppage of arms. Moorish protest. Possibility of concession to Germans at Borj-Saida. Refers to No. 318	178
326	Mr. Wyldbore Smith..	Telegraphic	24,	Conference. Accepted by Denmark on condition Great Powers interested accept (see No. 275)	178
327	Mr. Lowther ..	138	12,	Moorish prisons. Transmits Memorandum on. Useless to urge any improvement on Moorish Government under present circumstances	178

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
328	Mr. Lowther ..	139 Secret	June 14, 1905	British Mission to Fez. Audience of Sultan. His objections to French reforms and impression that French Minister had threatened the use of force (see No. 315)	179
329	„ „ ..	140 Confidential	14,	Moorish Pretender. Efforts on part of Makhzen to effect his capture. Reward offered	181
330	Mr. Wyldbore Smith..	..	17,	Moorish forces for Oujdah. Embarked at Tangier. Will probably be attacked before they reach their destination by Pretender's forces (see No. 284)	182
331	Sir F. Bertie ..	228 Confidential	24,	Conference. German Ambassador hopeful that matters will be arranged by a Conference	183
331*	Sir A. Nicolson ..	48 Tel.	26,	Spain and His Majesty's Government. Spanish desire for intimate relations. Thinks moment suitable for making communication proposed in No. 291*	183*
332	Manchester Chamber of Commerce ..	..	26,	British trade with Morocco. Anglo-French Agreement respecting. Morocco limits Tariff conditions of British trade to thirty years. Manchester trade would greatly suffer by the closure of a British market as anticipated from this stipulation. Hopes that means may be found of removing the restriction of the term of thirty years ..	183
333	Mr. Lowther ..	70 Tel.	27,	German instructors for garrison of Borj-Saida. Informs of Sultan's request for, in opposition to written engagement to France (see Nos. 99 and 325)	184
334	„ „ ..	71 Tel.	27,	Franco-German negotiations. Sultan anxious about, but assured by German Minister Germany will not retreat from her position..	184
335	To Sir F. Bertie ..	419	27,	Withdrawal of Missions from Fez. French Ambassador informed that His Majesty's Government did not wish to keep Mr. Lowther there longer than French Government thought necessary. Rumoured intention of "Grand Mufti" at Cairo to visit Morocco. Prince Bülow's observations on French reply respecting Conference (see Nos. 268 and 328)	184
336	To Mr. Lowther ..	40 Tel.	27,	Withdrawal of Missions from Fez. Conversation with French Ambassador. To confer with French colleague as to suitable moment for leaving (see No. 335)	185
336*	To Sir A. Nicolson ..	44 Tel.	27,	Spain and His Majesty's Government. To use his own discretion as to making communication proposed in No. 331* ..	185*
337	Mr. Lowther ..	141	16,	Moorish brigand Raisuli. His attitude towards Moorish Government since his appointment as Governor (see No. 181)	185
338	„ „ ..	142	16,	Conference. Effect on Moorish Government of refusal of His Majesty's Government and German acceptance. French Minister anxious that other Powers should refuse quickly (see No. 283 and 313)	186
339	„ „ ..	143	16,	Refusal of French Government to allow passage of arms, &c., for Moorish Government through Algeria. Conversation with French Minister (see No. 325)	186

No.	Name.	No.	Date.	Subject.	Page
340	Mr. Lowther ..	72 Tel.	June 28, 1905	Conference. Informs of Moorish request to His Majesty's Government to reconsider refusal. Refers to No. 264	187
341	To Mr. Lister ..	424	28,	Conference. French Ambassador's account of conversations between M. Rouvier and Prince Radolin, and extent to which latter had given assurances (see No. 280) ..	187
342	To Mr. Whitehead ..	150	28,	Conference. Transmits Memorandum of German Government in answer to M. Rouvier's note. German Ambassador denies that his Government ever wished to fasten a quarrel on France (see No. 310)	189

ERRATUM.

Page 87, No. 157. Mr. Lister's, No. 22, Telegraphic, should be dated and received April 21, not 27, and inserted on page 77.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Morocco.

PART 25.

No. 1.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received January 2.)

(No. 183.)
My Lord, *Madrid, December 30, 1904.*

IN continuation of my despatch No. 182 of the 28th instant, I asked the Marquess of Aguilar to-day what he knew about El Mokri.

He told me that he did not know much excepting that he heard last week of his arrival at Algeciras, and informed the Minister of the Interior, who, however, learnt nothing from his Agents about his movements.

It appears he arrived here on the 26th and left yesterday; he was accompanied by a M. Allier, Representative at Tangier of a French financial Society, and appears to have money to spend.

He said he was going to Paris, London, Berlin, and then to Lyons, to buy silk. Thence he proposed to go to Marseilles and Constantinople.

The Marquis of Aguilar did not see him; the French Chargé d'Affaires, however, had an interview with him, but does not appear to have learnt much about him except that his journey was not for political aims.

The Marquis of Aguilar said that from what he heard El Mokri belonged to the more European and civilized Moors, and, possibly afraid of the growing fanaticism, thought it safest for the present to go abroad.

Though the state of Morocco was serious, his Excellency appeared to have confidence in M. Delcassé's moderation and good sense; and agreed with me that it is fortunate that the Agreements between France and Spain, and England and France, are in existence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

No. 2.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received January 3.)

(No. 1.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, January 3, 1905.*

I AM informed by M. Saint-René Taillandier that the Moorish Government have sent him a satisfactory note whereby the necessity of withdrawing the Consul and others from Fez will, he thinks, be obviated, and he himself be enabled to shortly

proceed on his Mission to Fez. I understand that in this note the orders for the dismissal of the European employés and officers are revoked, and that it is explained that Sid Torres misunderstood the instructions sent him. This is obviously a subterfuge of the Government.

No. 3.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 4, 1905.)

(No. 233.)

My Lord, *Tangier, December* 23, 1904.

THE French Minister informed me yesterday evening that he had received a telegram from his Government, stating that, in consequence of the action of the Sultan in dismissing the French Military Mission, he was to recall from Fez the French Vice-Consul and all the French officers, as well as any French citizens who might be residing in that town, and that he himself was to postpone his Mission to the Court. M. Saint-René Taillandier added that, in pursuance of these instructions, he had directed M. Gaillard, the French Vice-Consul at Fez, to leave within twelve days from the receipt of his letter, and instructing him to give similar directions to the French officers and all other French citizens. He intended to write to the Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs, explaining the reasons which compelled him to postpone his Mission to the Court and to withdraw from the capital all French citizens, both civil and military. He would also inform the foreign Representatives and the Sultan's Deputy here of the measures which he had taken by direction of his Government. He added that the dismissal of the French military Mission on the eve of his own departure from the Court could hardly be regarded in any other light than that of an insult, and it could not be passed over. I inquired of M. Saint-René Taillandier whether I was to understand the recall of all French officials and citizens from Fez as a prelude to further measures on the part of his Government, but he told me he was without any information on this point.

I said that I would telegraph to your Lordship the substance of what he had been good enough to tell me, and that, in the circumstances, it would probably be thought desirable that the British subjects at Fez should also leave the capital.

M. Saint-René Taillandier, in the course of further conversation, observed that the step taken by his Government might produce one of two effects on the mind of the Sultan. It might induce His Majesty to abandon the unfriendly policy he had lately initiated, or it might have a contrary effect, and confirm him in his apparent determination to make common cause with the reactionary party at Fez. He thought, however, that the very plain and decided language he intended to employ in his communication to the Foreign Minister would show the Sultan that it would be useless and dangerous for him to resist the prosecution of the task which the French Government had undertaken.

It is exceedingly difficult to predict with any certainty what impression will be produced at Fez by this measure of the French Government. I am inclined to believe that the Sultan may regard the measure as a surrender to his demands, made, indeed, a little earlier and more comprehensively than he had anticipated. Should he take this view, the fanatical element will receive much encouragement, and it would then be unsafe for Europeans to remain at Fez. I doubt if the Foreign Minister, whose position is said to be very much weakened of late, would have the courage to communicate to the Sultan, fully and unmodified, any warnings which the French Minister may convey in his note. If the removal of the French from Fez is a prelude to action being taken, it would then be manifestly necessary that Europeans should leave not only Fez, but also other places in the interior; and it is to be hoped that in such an eventuality the French Government will take ample measures for protecting Europeans resident in the several coast towns.

I will await your Lordship's instructions as to the removal of British subjects from Fez before dealing with certain questions as to expenses and other matters which will arise in that connection.

I beg leave to transmit copy of the Circular letter which the French Minister has addressed to the foreign Representatives in regard to the departure of French subjects from Fez.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

Inclosure in No. 3.

M. Saint-René Taillandier to Sir A. Nicolson.

Légation de France, Tanger,

M. le Ministre et cher Collègue, *le 22 Décembre*, 1904.

J'AI l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que, sur les instructions de mon Gouvernement, je diffère jusqu'à nouvel ordre l'accomplissement de la Mission dont il m'avait chargé auprès du Sultan du Maroc.

Pour me conformer aux mêmes instructions, j'invite le Chef de la Mission militaire Française à quitter Fès, avec son personnel, dans un délai de douze jours à partir de la réception de ma lettre. La même invitation est adressée au Vice-Consul de France pour lui-même et pour tous mes compatriotes actuellement présents dans la ville de sa résidence.

Je me fais un devoir de vous informer sans retard de ces dispositions en raison de l'intérêt qu'elles peuvent avoir pour vos ressortissants.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) G. SAINT-RENÉ TAILLANDIER.

No. 4.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 4, 1905.)

(No. 234.)

My Lord, *Tangier, December* 23, 1904.

AFTER a considerable delay, owing to continued bad weather at sea and insecurity of land journeys, I have received several reports from the coast towns and southern districts which give the usual lamentable accounts of the state of anarchy now prevailing throughout the country.

I need hardly trouble your Lordship with details, but there are one or two points which perhaps deserve especial mention. The farm of a British subject, Mr. Lapeen, which was situated about a mile from Dar-el-Baida, was attacked on the night of the 14th instant and completely looted. The two men in charge of the place were killed, and all the live-stock, grain, furniture, &c., carried away by the marauders.

There is also great unrest among the powerful tribe of the Rahamna, in the vicinity of Morocco city. It is difficult to comprehend exactly what is passing, as the reports I have received are wanting in precision; but of late rumour has been busy with the probability of a general rising in the south, in which the Rahamna would naturally play an important part. The object, it is said, of this movement would be to proclaim the Viceroy of Morocco city, Mulai Hafid, a brother of the Sultan, as Sovereign. I have been unable to obtain any satisfactory confirmation of this report, though my correspondent at Morocco city alludes to the supposed connivance of Moulai Hafid in the disturbances which are occurring, and also states that he is distributing rifles among the tribesmen. It is probable that, if there is any project of the above nature, more detailed information will be forthcoming shortly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 5.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 4, 1905.)

(No. 236.)

My Lord, *Tangier, December* 24, 1904.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have instructed His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Fez to leave that capital, and to request all British subjects who may be resident there, whether in the employment of the Moorish Government or not, to accompany him to Tangier. I have told Mr. MacLeod to inform the Minister for Foreign Affairs verbally of the instructions which he has received, and to request that a sufficient

escort be provided to accompany him and his party to Laraiche, whence they will have to proceed by sea to Tangier.

I have also authorized Mr. MacLeod to draw on this Legation for any advances of which he or others of his party may be in need.

I discussed the question of expenses with my French colleague, who concurred with me that there would be some difficulty in asking the Moorish Government to reimburse the expenses of the Consular officers and civilians, as the departure of these persons had been required by their own Governments, and not solicited by the Sultan. This point, however, can be examined later.

I asked my French colleague whether he had left any latitude to the Vice-Consul at Fez as to his departure in the event of the Moorish Government showing a disposition to rescind their decision to dismiss the foreign officers and to revert to a more amicable mode of discussing the situation.

He told me that his instructions to the Vice-Consul were definite and precise as to refusing to enter into any discussion, and that he and the others were to leave Fez not later than twelve days after the receipt of their instructions.

I expressed the hope that, in the event of his Government finding it necessary to proceed to further measures of a more decisive character than the recall of the Consular and military officers from Fez, he would give me ample warning so that I might advise several of my compatriots who were in Morocco city and other places in the interior. M. Saint-René Taillandier replied that, at present, he could give no positive answer to my question, as so much depended on various eventualities, but that it might be prudent to warn those in the interior to prepare to move to the coast towns. The concluding sentence in the Circular note to the foreign Representatives, of which I forwarded a copy in my despatch No. 233 of the 23rd instant, had, he suggested, indicated the possibility of some ulterior action being necessary. I said that I had had that sentence in my mind when I made the inquiry.

As it is undesirable to create premature alarm, I do not propose, for the present, to warn my compatriots at Morocco city.

I sincerely trust that the voyagers from Fez will perform their journey without mishap, but it will be a relief when they have arrived safely at Tangier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 6.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received January 4.)

(No. 2.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, January 4, 1905.*

M. SAINT-RENÉ TAILLANDIER was good enough this morning to read to me the satisfactory note which had been communicated to him by the Moorish Government. The French Government has authorized him to inform the Moorish Government that the explanations and assurances which have been given have been noted, and to announce the early departure of his Mission for Fez.

I am informed by the French Minister that the Mission will start in about a week's time.

I propose, in these circumstances, to address a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, acknowledging the receipt of the communication from the Sultan's Deputy with reference to the proposed dismissal of the English officers at Fez, but saying that I shall not communicate with these officers until I have received a further letter from his Excellency, as I am given to understand that there has been a slight misunderstanding with reference to this step, which will not be put into execution.

It would, I think, be advisable to secure from the Moorish Government an acknowledgment in writing of the revocation of their decision in regard to the British officers at the Court.

No. 7.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 1.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, January 4, 1905.*

I APPROVE the note you propose to address to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject of the dismissal of English officers, as outlined in your telegram No. 2 of the 4th instant.

No. 8.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received January 5.)

(No. 3.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, January 5, 1905.*

M. SAINT-RENÉ TAILLANDIER tells me that he has received news by telegraph from the Algerian frontier reporting that the Government troops have received a very serious defeat at the hands of the Pretender near Oujdah. The Pretender took many prisoners, most of whom, after having been despoiled of their clothing and rifles, were released. The Government troops also lost many killed and wounded. Bu Amama materially assisted in the Pretender's victory by attacking the Government troops in the rear, in spite of the fact that he had lately pretended to have made his submission to the Sultan.

No. 9.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received January 6, 1905.)

(No. 237.)
My Lord, *Tangier, December 28, 1904.*

I REGRET to have to report that a Spaniard in the employment of Mr. Waller, a horticulturist resident here for several years, was murdered last night by some Moors whose identity it will, I fear, be impossible to discover. The Spaniard, who lived in a small cottage with his wife and two children, was awakened at 1 A.M. by a noise at his door, and found that someone was endeavouring to force an entrance. He tried to keep the door closed, but it was soon pushed open, and a Moor fired at him at close quarters and killed him instantly. The Spaniard was unarmed and unable to offer any resistance. The Moors apparently then decamped, carrying away four ploughing oxen, the property of Mr. Waller. Nothing was taken from the cottage, and the act was deliberate and unprovoked murder, as the oxen could have been carried away without the knowledge of the Spaniard, who was asleep in his house. There was no grudge against the Spaniard, who was a hard-working, inoffensive man earning his livelihood.

The Spanish Minister and myself have made representations to the local authorities, but we are perfectly aware that the latter are powerless to maintain order or obtain redress.

I have called the attention of the French Minister to this occurrence, which took place within a mile of the town, as fresh evidence of the insecurity in which all peaceable individuals are unfortunately compelled to live. Some prompt and efficient measures should be taken for the protection of Europeans, as at present, neither lives nor property are in any sense secure in Tangier or its immediate neighbourhood; and this recent incident will undoubtedly cause much alarm among the numerous Spaniards of the poorer classes, who live scattered throughout the suburbs in exposed and defenceless situations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 10.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 6, 1905.)

(No. 239.)

My Lord, *Tangier, December* 30, 1904.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith translation of a note which I have received from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, informing me that the Sultan accedes to a settlement of the case of Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi on the basis proposed in my communication to his Excellency of the 13th instant. The note of the Minister for Foreign Affairs is, I think, satisfactory, and I was pleased to receive it, as his demeanour and language when His Majesty's Vice-Consul handed him my proposals, with an explanatory verbal statement, led me to anticipate further difficulties being made to an arrangement. As is not unfrequently the case in this country, a sudden change seems to have occurred in the disposition of the Government, and the Foreign Minister was profuse in his friendly assurances when he handed his note to Mr. MacLeod for transmission to me.

I paid El Menebhi a visit this morning, and caused the note of the Foreign Minister to be read to him, so that he might thoroughly understand its terms. He will make arrangements for the conveyance to Tangier of his personal property in Fez and Morocco City, and when these are completed and he has received the 10,000*l.* awarded by the Government, he proposes to take his departure for Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

Inclosure in No. 10.

Sid-ben-Sliman to Sir A. Nicolson.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

I RECEIVED your letter of the 5th Showal (13th December), in the case of El-Mehedi-el-Menebhi, in which you state that you are prepared to accept an arrangement of it in a just manner which the Moorish Government will accept. That is to say, that El-Menebhi shall give over to the Moorish Government all the properties he holds in Morocco with all that remains thereof, live-stock and produce of every kind; and the Moorish Government allow him the properties he claims as his own at Tangier, and also the furniture and private effects in his house at Fez, and in that at Marrakesh; and that the departure of El Menebhi from Morocco is dependent upon a grant of 10,000*l.* by the Moorish Government, to assist him in his expenses in removing with his family and in making himself a home in a foreign country.

I brought your letter to the knowledge of His Majesty, and he has instructed me to reply that, as you have requested that the matter be settled on these terms, and you hope that His Shereefian Majesty will consent to carry it out, he agrees from regard to the honour of the British Government and of you, and to avoid further discussion on this matter, that El Menebhi shall give over to the Shereefian Government all the properties he claims as his own in this Empire, either in the towns or in the country, and all the live-stock and produce, whether it is still in the country or has been removed and deposited elsewhere in this country, and he shall deliver to the Moorish Government all documents relating to these properties, and all proofs appertaining to them; and the Moorish Government will leave to him the other properties which he holds in Tangier, and the furniture and private effects in his house at Fez, and in that at Marrakesh, as he has also consented to grant him the 10,000*l.* conditionally on his departing, himself and all those of his family for whom he speaks, and on their never returning to this Empire under any circumstances. This will be a mutual benefit to him and to the Moorish Government; therefore, let him appoint a representative to vacate the house at Marrakesh and the house at Fez of all his family and affairs; and as to the 10,000*l.*, you should appoint a place at which you would wish it to be paid, either at Fez or in Tangier, so that it may be delivered to the person

appointed to receive it, and this shall be at the time he actually departs with his family.

May you rest, &c.

(Signed) ABDELKRIM-BEN-SLIMAN.

11th Showal 1322 (*December* 19, 1904).

No. 11.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 4.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 9, 1905.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 239 of the 30th ultimo reporting that the Sultan of Morocco has acceded to a settlement of the case of Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi on the basis proposed in your note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 13th of that month, and have to express my satisfaction at the successful result of your representations in this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 12.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 16.)

(No. 1.)

My Lord, *Tangier, January* 3, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch which I have received from His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Fez, reporting a conversation which he had with the French Vice-Consul in regard to the withdrawal of the French Consular and Military officers from the capital.

I also beg to inclose a Memorandum giving the substance of a subsequent interview which Mr. MacLeod had with M. Gaillard, and which gives some details as to the discussions which took place between the latter gentleman and the Moorish Government.

The French Minister called on me yesterday evening, to inform me that he had received a note from the Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs, which he thought could be considered satisfactory. Ample amends were made for the step which the Moorish Government had taken in regard to the dismissal of the French Military Mission, and explanations were given to the effect that the Sultan's Deputy had misunderstood his instructions. This, the French Minister remarked, could not have been the case, as he himself had seen the orders which had emanated from the Court, and they were categorical and quite precise and clear. He would now propose to his Government that he should reply to the Moorish Government in a sense which would, he hoped, preclude any further tergiversation on the question which had lately been in dispute, and having thus cleared the ground he saw no obstacle in the way of his proceeding on his mission to the Court.

M. Saint-René Taillandier further said that he was pleased that the incident had terminated in a satisfactory manner, as the moment was not propitious for adopting any sterner measures. French public opinion was not prepared at present for other than diplomatic means of bringing pressure to bear on the Sultan and his Government; and though he did not disguise from himself that when the moment arrived for carrying reforms into execution persuasive measures would not be sufficient, it was well not to be compelled to anticipate this contingency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 12.

Vice-Consul MacLeod to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 76.)

Sir,

Fez, December 26, 1904.

I HAVE the honour to report that this forenoon M. Gaillard, the French Vice-Consul called here. He inquired whether I had received a special courier with urgent communications from you. I said, "No. Why?" He then went on to say that he had just received instructions from the French Minister that all French citizens and non-Moslem French subjects here were to proceed at once to the coast. The French Military Mission and M. Gaillard himself were to be included in this withdrawal.

The reason for this step was, that the French Government had resolved upon certain measures, M. Gaillard did not know what they were, which might occasion commotions here in Fez, and in the interior generally. Of late the Moorish Government had become more and more intractable, and it had been decided to make them understand how they stood, and to bring the present intolerable state of things to an end.

The French Minister had informed you and his other colleagues of what was contemplated, and, no doubt, I would very soon receive advice of all this from you and your instructions.

He (M. Gaillard) mentioned this to me at once, so that, if through delays to couriers or other accidents, I should not hear from you, I might at least have early knowledge of how things stood, and be able to advise British subjects here on the matter.

M. Favareza, French merchant, and his wife and child and M. Veyve were leaving Fez the day after to-morrow.

The French Military Mission would leave in four days from now. Two Algerian Jewesses, teachers at the Jewish school, would leave about then also. M. Gaillard was placing the French Vice-Consulate and French Post-office in charge of his Algerian (Moslem) assistant, Sid Bu Mehedin. The money order business of the post-office would be suspended, but the mail service would go on as usual.

M. Gaillard suggested that it would be well that Europeans should avoid letting their native servants know anything of all this, in the meantime, and that when they themselves left, they should do so in as small parties and as unostentatiously as possible. (I agreed that if they decided to leave, it should be in that manner as far as possible.)

Their only difficulty was with Commandant Fariau (Head of the French Military Mission), who was very ill with fever. They were, however, having a litter prepared for him.

I answered that I was very much obliged for his kindness for telling me all this, that I would mention it very privately to Dr. Verdon and Major Ogilvy, as they had their wives, &c., to consider (which I have since done), and to the ladies we have here. Just now, apart from Mrs. Ogilvy, her daughter and her governess, these consist of only my wife and Miss Greathead, of the North African Mission; but I would defer speaking to the other British subjects, Messrs. Mowat, Portway Sydney, and Bale, and Sergeants Balding and Philps, all single men, who needed less time for preparation, until I heard from you.

I remarked to M. Gaillard that I was very surprised at his news, for just the day before yesterday, when he was calling here in a social way and we were talking over things, he had said that some weeks ago he had found the Makhzen troublesome, but had spoken up to them strongly, and since then they had been perfectly civil.

Moreover he had told me then, too, that the French Mission was starting from Tangier on the 23rd December for Laraiche and Fez. M. Gaillard replied that he too had been entirely surprised by these orders he had received. In answer to further questions, he said he did not know whether the French Government contemplated carrying out some military measure of a hostile kind at once, and then sending their suggestions to the Makhzen in the form of an ultimatum, or whether they were minded to send an ultimatum first of all, and, by having all their European subjects out of the interior, feel as unhampered as possible in regard to carrying it out if the ultimatum were not heeded.

M. Gaillard, however, said he did not know any more than he had already stated; the trouble at root, however, was with this "sparrow" of a Sultan, who must be brought to reason.

I then said that it was quite possible that you might consider these events

additional reasons for my remaining here, instead of proceeding to the coast, for you might want to be informed of the course of later events and so on.

As regards Mr. Hastings, my assistant here, and myself, we are entirely willing to do just as you may prefer, and if you leave us the option we will remain, in the hope of being able to do useful work.

M. Gaillard then left me and went to inform Dr. Vassel, Acting German Consul, of the situation.

My idea of the situation as regards ourselves here is, that if the French contemplate sending a strong ultimatum, we may with fair safety stick to Fez; for assuredly the Makhzen will give way to it. Then, if the military measures of the French be on the frontier, with the Pretender's band blocking communications between Fez and the scene of operations, the people here would not be very much concerned, and we could stay on.

But there would be more risk to us, if the French were to land troops on the coast.

Dr. Verdon says that Sid Mohammed Guebbas, Minister of War, has told him that the Viziers did discuss the question of retiring all the Europeans from the Court, but decided to retain them. Major Ogilvy says he heard of no such proposal.

I have not seen Dr. Vassel yet, but I hear he has had no message from his Legation on the situation, and is anxiously awaiting news and instructions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. M. MACLEOD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 12.

Memorandum.

M. GAILLARD stated that on the afternoon of the 15th instant he was summoned to a consultation of all the Viziers, and that they endeavoured to draw him into discussions in regard to their differences with the French Minister, whose attitude they deprecated at great length. He had merely replied that he was not authorized to enter into any discussion, and that he was unable to go beyond his instructions, which were to withdraw all the French citizens to Tangier, including himself and the French Military Mission. The Viziers then asked him to go with them to the Sultan, who repeated to them substantially what the Viziers had said, and entered into explanations in regard to various subjects. M. Gaillard held the same language to the Sultan as he had to the Viziers, adding that he would report fully to the French Minister all that His Majesty had said, and he expressed the hope that all would be settled satisfactorily.

M. Gaillard said the Viziers had then sent off special couriers to the French Minister with, he believed, urgent entreaties to the French Government to reconsider the situation. M. Gaillard's own opinion was that these entreaties would be of no avail, as he imagined that the view of his Government was that the Sultan's authority had of late been decaying so fast that six months hence there might practically be no Moorish Government left to deal with.

In regard to the finances, M. Gaillard said that the town dues, 40 per cent. of the Customs revenues, and 5,000,000 fr., still undrawn from the French loan, were all that remained to the Moorish Government; and these funds were quite insufficient for carrying on the administration, leaving out of account the improvements which were absolutely necessary. M. Gaillard gave Mr. MacLeod to understand that the question of the finances had of late formed the subject of many remonstrances he had made to the Moorish Gevernment, especially in regard to the wasteful expenditure of the French loan, which had been largely employed by individual Ministers for their own personal profit.

M. Gaillard also said that he had good reason to believe that in their note to the French Minister the Moorish Government revoked their decision to dismiss the European officers and employés, and had explained that the Sultan's Deputy had misunderstood and exceeded his instructions.

Mr. MacLeod reports that the several Viziers sacrificed a camel and two oxen at the tomb of Muley Dris, and also oxen at various other saints' tombs, to invoke the aid of those personages in the present emergency.

No. 13.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 16.)

(No. 2. Confidential.)

Tangier, January 4, 1905.

My Lord,

THE French Minister was good enough to read to me this morning the communications which had recently passed between him and the Moorish Government relative to the projected dismissal of the French Military Mission from Fez, and to the steps which the French Government had considered it incumbent on them to take to mark their displeasure at the attitude adopted by the Sultan and his Government.

The note of the French Minister could leave no doubt as to the serious light in which his Government regarded the action of the Moorish Government, and was very explicit in its statement that, if the Sultan was unwilling to co-operate in the discharge of the responsibilities which France had undertaken, the task would be carried through without his assistance.

The reply of the Moorish Government was very lengthy, and was profuse in protestations of friendship and good-will. In regard to the dismissal of the French Military Mission, to which such exception had been taken by the French Government, the note explained that there had been a misunderstanding on this point, and expressed regret that the French Minister had not requested explanations from the Moorish Government before referring the question to Paris, and thus avoided a disagreeable incident. The note declared that the Sultan's Deputy had exceeded his instructions, and that all that the Moorish Government had intended was to sound the interested Legations as to the withdrawal or reduction of the military officers at the Court, a step which had been contemplated solely with a view to effecting economies. In any case the Sultan would not persist in the measure, and would be happy to consult with the French Minister on the subject as soon as he arrived at Court, where he would meet with an honourable and friendly reception. In the concluding passages of the note the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that the Sultan was ready to discuss with the French Minister any projects of reform which he might consider were desirable in the interests of the country.

M. Saint-René Taillandier told me that he had telegraphed to his Government the substance of the note, and had suggested that he should reply by informing the Minister for Foreign Affairs that he took account of the several assurances and explanations given him, and that he would send instructions to the Consul and Military Mission to await his arrival at Fez, whither he would now proceed shortly. His Government, he said, had expressed their approval of this course, and he had dispatched a special courier this morning to Fez with his reply to the Moorish Government. He added that he proposed taking his departure for Fez in about eight days' time.

Although the Moorish Government have given the French Minister to understand that the orders for the dismissal of the French Military Mission have been revoked, there have been no similar assurances given as yet to this Legation that the revocation applies to the British military officers and employés; and I would therefore propose to address a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating that I had received an intimation from the Sultan's Deputy that the Sultan desired to dispense with the services of the British officers at the Court, but that I was given to understand that there had been some little misunderstanding on this point, and that it was not now intended to carry the step into effect, and that I would consequently abstain from making any communication to the British officers unless I heard further from his Excellency.

The French Minister entirely agreed with the terms of my proposed communication, and I have telegraphed to-day for your Lordship's sanction to this course.

I have let Mr. Vice-Consul Macleod know that there appears to be every probability that his French colleague and other French citizens will not be required to leave Fez, and that therefore it is unnecessary for him to take any steps for his own departure or for that of any other British subjects.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 14.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 16.)

(No. 3.)

Tangier, January, 4, 1905.

My Lord,

A DEPUTATION from the British colony here called upon me to request me to forward the inclosed petition to your Lordship, signed by about 100 British subjects, representing the state of insecurity in which they are compelled to live, and praying that some measures be adopted to remedy this condition of things.

I promised the deputation that I would forward their petition to your Lordship, and stated that I was well aware that they had not exaggerated the situation at Tangier and its neighbourhood.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

Inclosure in No. 14.

Petition from British Subjects at Tangier.

WE, the undersigned British subjects resident at Tangier, humbly petition your Lordship that some measures may be taken to put an end to the state of insecurity of life and property in which for nearly two years we have been residing.

The succession of outrages upon the persons and property of British subjects that have occurred during that period needs no recalling here, but we would humbly point out that in not one single case has punishment been meted out to the perpetrators.

As your Lordship is no doubt aware, the existing state of anarchy shows no signs of abating, to the peril of life, the spoliation of property, and the loss of trade.

The British colony has borne this distressing state of affairs with patience and without undue complaint, feeling assured that steps would be taken to put an end to anarchy, but the continual increase of the danger and inconvenience in which we are obliged to live, and the absolute absence of any serious attempt to bring about an amelioration of affairs, forces us to speak. We therefore humbly petition your Lordship that measures may be taken to put an end to the distressing and humiliating circumstances in which His Majesty's subjects at Tangier are obliged to exist.

[Signatures not printed.]

Tangier, January 2, 1905.

No. 15.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 16.)

(No. 5.)

Tangier, January 5, 1905.

My Lord,

THE French Minister informed me this morning that he had received a telegram from the French military officer, who resides at Oujdah, that the Pretender had inflicted a serious defeat on the Government forces, and compelled the latter to retreat hurriedly to the above-named town. It appears that the Government troops advanced to attack the encampment of the Pretender, and during the assault Bu Amama fell, with his levies, on the rear of the Sultan's forces, and, in conjunction with the Pretender, forced them to fly back to Oujdah.

The French officer reports that the losses in killed and wounded among the Government forces were heavy, and that the Pretender made many prisoners, the majority of whom he subsequently released, having deprived them of their rifles and clothing.

Bu Amama lately entered into negotiations with the Moorish Government, and had induced them to believe, though on several previous occasions he had deceived them, that his protestations were sincere and that he was desirous of assisting them in

defeating the Pretender. The Oujdah authorities appear to have been completely misled by Bu Amama and to have advanced to attack the Pretender, leaving the former in their rear, who promptly attacked them when they were heavily engaged in the attack on the encampment.

It would not be surprising if Oujdah were now to surrender to the Pretender, who will in any case acquire increased influence and power along the Algerian frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 16.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 16.)

(No. 6.)
My Lord, *Tangier, January* 5, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to transmit copy of a note which I have addressed to the Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs in regard to the wish of the Moorish Government to dispense with the services of the British officers in the employment of the Moorish Government, which, I trust, will meet with your Lordship's approval. It seemed to me prudent to guard against the Moorish Government receiving the impression that the dismissal of the officers could be effected without some arrangements being made for pensions or compensation allowances.

I understand that Kaid Sir Harry Maclean has no contract, but that he has been always led to believe that his engagement was a permanent one. I informed Sir H. Maclean, on his passage through here a few weeks ago, that the French Minister had spoken to me in regard to his future, and that I had mentioned that, presumably, when the moment arrived for the French officers to undertake the creation of a Moorish army, he would not care to remain in Morocco in the altered circumstances, but that I thought he was entitled to a suitable pension. The French Minister, I said, had not demurred to this observation.

Major Ogilvy informed me that his original contract was for one year, and though he had made no formal renewal of it at the expiration of the year, he always understood that a reasonable notice of three months would be given before it was cancelled. In these circumstances, I should think, in the event of Major Ogilvy having to leave, that travelling expenses and three months' pay should be granted.

The two non-commissioned officers were engaged, Major Ogilvy tells me, on a yearly contract, with three months' notice on either side; should they be dismissed, it would seem but fair to accord them the same terms as I have mentioned in the case of Major Ogilvy.

Dr. Verdon informs me that he was originally engaged on a yearly contract, which was renewed every September. During the first three years the fresh contracts were handed to him by Hadj Abdslam Tazi, a Court functionary, but since the departure of this gentleman from Fez this custom ceased; but Dr. Verdon was informed verbally by the Sultan that there was no need of a contract, as he desired that Dr. Verdon should always remain at the Court. In the event, therefore, of Dr. Verdon having to leave, some suitable compensation should be granted to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

Inclosure in No. 16.

Sir A. Nicolson to Sid Abdelkrim-ben-Sliman.

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) *Tangier, January* 5, 1905.

I RECEIVED on the 15th ultimo a note signed by Hadj Mohammed Torres and the Amin-el-Mukhri informing me that the Moorish Government had decided to dispense with the services of Kaid Maclean, Major Ogilvy, and Dr. Verdon, as well as of the two British non-commissioned officers, and stating that the above named should leave in a month's time.

Since the receipt of this communication I have been given to understand that there was some misunderstanding in respect of these orders, and that it is not intended to give effect to them. I will, therefore, make no communication to the above-named officers in the sense suggested by Hadj Mohammed Torres and Mohammed-el-Mukhri, especially as there are certain points connected with the position of the officers which, in the event of their leaving the service of the Sultan, would necessitate some further communication with your Excellency.

May you rest, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 17.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 7.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1905.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 3 of the 4th instant, forwarding a Petition addressed to me by British residents at Tangier.

I request that you will acknowledge the receipt of the Petition on my behalf, and express to the subscribers my regret at the state of affairs which they represent.

You should say that the insecurity of life and property of British subjects in and around Tangier, and, indeed, in Morocco generally, has for some time past been a source of anxiety and concern to His Majesty's Government. Under the recent Agreement with France, any active measures in regard to such matters must necessarily devolve in the first instance on the French Government, and His Majesty's Government are confident that the protection of Europeans in Morocco and the reorganization of the police will be among the first questions to be considered. The French Mission which is now on its way to the Moorish Court may be expected to deal with this and similar matters.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 18.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 8.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1905.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 6 of the 5th instant, and I approve the terms of the note which you have addressed to the Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply to the communication received by you from Hadj Mohammed Torres and Amin-el-Mukhri in regard to the wish of the Moorish Government to dispense with the services of the British officers at present in their employment.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 19.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received January* 23.)

(No. 7.)
My Lord, *Tangier, January* 11, 1905.

I have the honour to report that the French Minister, accompanied by his staff and three newspaper correspondents, left here to-day in the French cruiser "Du Chayla" for Laraiche, whence he will proceed to Fez. M. Saint-René Taillandier expects to remain at Fez for three or four months.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 20.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received January 23.)

(No. 8. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, January 11, 1905.*

The French Minister paid me a farewell visit yesterday, and I took the opportunity of speaking to him in regard to the future of Sid Mehedi el-Menebhi. I told M. Saint-René Taillandier that I was speaking without any authority and without consultation with the individual most interested, but that it seemed to me that before long the services of an active and liberal-minded man such as El-Menebhi would be of considerable utility, and that, though I was quite aware of his failings, I was sure that, properly guided, he could render very valuable assistance to those who were to undertake the regeneration of Morocco. I quite understood that the fact of El-Menebhi being under British protection rendered it a little difficult for the French authorities to ask for his co-operation, but that I thought that my Government would not stand in the way of his waiving his British protection, provided always that El-Menebhi himself was willing to abandon it. The occasion was not likely to arrive for some little time, but I was sure that El-Menebhi, a man in the full vigour and activity of his life, would wear out his heart in idleness in a foreign country, and would be yearning for active employment, and that in view of the extreme dearth of capable men in this country the French Government might eventually be disposed to recall him to Morocco, under, of course, the ægis of their protection.

The French Minister thanked me for my observations, and said that he quite agreed with me in the high opinion I had of Menebhi, and that the suggestion I had made would certainly be borne in mind and might be adopted eventually

Later in the day the French Minister sent one of his staff to El-Menebhi with a friendly message of farewell, and some other civil and complimentary expressions. El-Menebhi called this morning at the French Legation to express his thanks to the French Minister, who told him that I had spoken on his behalf on the previous day, and that he considered that El-Menebhi should be gratified with the results of our conversation.

I trust your Lordship will concur in the step I have taken, but I thought that before my departure I might pave the way to subsequent relations between the French Legation and El-Menebhi, as it seemed to me probable that on both sides there was no indisposition to come into touch, though neither was inclined to make the first overtures.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 21.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received January 30.)

(No. 10.)
My Lord, *Tangier, January 20, 1905.*

THE British Consular Agent at Alcazar reports that a force of about 1,000 men, of whom 600 are cavalry, arrived at that town on the 14th instant, and was expected to remain there for some weeks, to restore order in that district. Whilst at Alcazar the force would, he understood, be joined by contingents from the Beni Hassen and other tribes, and would then proceed to the Gharbia, where a "Khasbah" would be built and a permanent garrison would be established with a view to holding these tribes in check, and keeping open the road to Fez.

The arrival of this force was very opportune, as Alcazar was seriously threatened by the neighbouring hill tribes. Its presence will also tend to facilitate the journey of the French Mission to Fez.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 22.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received January 30.)

(No. 12.)
My Lord, *Tangier, January 21, 1905.*

THE latest reports that have reached me from the Acting Consul at Dar-al-Baida show an improvement in the state of the country in his district. Mr. Michell informs me that all the tribes throughout the south are now quiet, and even show a disposition to respond to the Sultan's call for levies of troops.

Two important tribes have already dispatched contingents under their Governors, and it is believed that gradually the whole district round Marakesh will send levies to join the Sultan at Fez.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 23.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received January 30.)

(No. 5.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, January 30, 1905.*

REPRESENTATIVES have been summoned from the principal towns in this country at the command of the Sultan with, it is understood, the object of referring the measures of reform that M. Saint-Réné Taillandier may have to propose to them for approval.

This step will in all probability increase the difficulty of the French Minister's task, and prolong the course of the negotiations to a considerable degree.

No. 24.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received February 6.)

(No. 14.)
My Lord, *Tangier, January 28, 1905.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 10 of the 20th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of a letter Sid Hadj Mohammed Torres has addressed to each of the foreign Representatives giving notice of the approaching arrival in this district of the body of troops at present at Alcazar, and requesting that foreign subjects remove any property they may have intrusted to natives in this neighbourhood, as it is the intention of the Government to punish the tribes for their lawlessness.

I also beg leave to inclose translation of the reply which, after consultation with the French and other Representatives, I have made to this letter. It is in the same sense as the note which the foreign Representatives addressed to Sid Torres on a similar occasion about two years ago.

From reports that have reached me it appears that the approach of this force causes considerable uneasiness to Raisuli, who, I am informed, has sent messages to Sid Torres, recommending that it be not permitted to come to this neighbourhood. It is thought that if this remonstrance is not heeded, Raisuli will make every endeavour to capture some European to hold as a hostage to insure his own security. It is said, however, that he has to a considerable extent lost his influence with many of the tribes, who have refused to respond to his invitation to join him and concert the measures that should be taken in view of the approach of the Sultan's troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 24.

Sid Mohammed Torres to Mr. White.

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) 15*th Kaada*, 1322 (*January* 20, 1903).

HIS Shereefian Majesty has decided to send a force to the Tangier district to insure the safety of the roads, to restore order into that district, and to punish the evil-doers, and I have been instructed to notify you of this in order that you may inform British merchants and those persons who are under your jurisdiction that they should withdraw what property they may have in that district as a precaution against mischance, in conformity with the Treaty. I therefore trust that your Excellency will inform the parties referred to and warn them on this subject.

(Signed) TORRES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 24.

Mr. White to Sid Mohammed Torres.

(After compliments.) *Tangier, January* 25, 1905 (19*th Kaada*, 1322).

I HAVE received your Excellency's letter of the 15th Kaada, in which you inform me that His Shereefian Majesty has decided to send a force into this district to restore order, and you desire that British subjects and protégés be informed that they must withdraw what interests they may have in that district. I have taken due note of your Excellency's request, and, in reply, would wish to repeat the answer made by His Majesty's Minister to a similar request on the 21st January, 1903 (21 Showal, 1320), viz., that your request will be brought to the notice of British subjects, but at the same time I must reserve the right to present any claims that may arise from any action the Moorish Government may take in this district.

I should be grateful if your Excellency would inform me more exactly of the extent of the district referred to in order that there may be no misunderstanding on this point.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 25.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received February* 6.)

(No. 15.)
My Lord, *Tangier, January* 29, 1905.

LETTERS have arrived from the Court ordering two prominent citizens of Tangier, and two of Tetuan, to proceed at once to Fez; and news has been received from Rabat that three men from that place have received similar instructions.

From reports that have reached me it appears that the Sultan has summoned representatives from all the ports and principal towns of the interior to form a species of Advisory Council, to whom he will refer the various proposals of reform that may be submitted by the French Minister. His Majesty's hands will thus be strengthened in opposing any measures that may not be acceptable to him, as he will be enabled to plead his inability to oppose the will of his people, as expressed by their representatives; whilst on the other hand the Council will share the responsibility *vis-à-vis* the people for any unpopular measures His Majesty may find himself forced to accept.

I fear this unexpected move on the part of the Sultan will considerably delay the negotiations of the French Minister as some time must elapse before the representatives of the more distant towns can reach Fez.

It will also, doubtless, render the task of M. Saint-René Taillandier much more difficult, as opposition will be offered to every proposal tending to establish French control or guidance in any Department.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 26.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received February* 11.)

(No. 17.)
My Lord, *Tangier, February* 3, 1905.

A FEW days since the Basha of this town sent for Representatives from the various villages of the "Fahs," or plains adjoining Tangier, and informed them that he had received orders to levy a body of troops in this Bashalik, and send them to join the expedition that has been dispatched from Fez, and is at present encamped at Alcazar as reported in my despatch No. 14 of the 28th ultimo.

The villagers, I am told, expressed their willingness to obey these orders, but at the same time pointed out the difficulty of their position owing to Raisuli's opposition.

Subsequently Raisuli summoned a meeting of the "Fahs" villagers, which was held the day before yesterday, but was not very numerously attended. Raisuli confirmed some orders he had previously given, that every villager should provide himself with a rifle and ammunition and hold himself in readiness to obey his summons.

As far as one can judge, the people are at heart tired of the state of unrest and lawlessness so long now prevalent in this district, and would willingly revert to their obedience to the Government, could the latter guarantee them against the vengeance of Raisuli; but in the absence of such guarantee they stand in too great fear of Raisuli to place themselves in open opposition to him.

On the other hand, Raisuli feels that his power has been much weakened of late, owing to his numerous enemies even amongst those who were formerly his partisans, and he is nervous at the approach of the troops. He is anxious to make his peace with the Government, could he trust them not to break faith with him after his surrender. He has, I understand, been in communication with the Commander of the troops at Alcazar. Failing this, and should he not be able to make his escape, he would probably make some desparate attempt to effect some capture that would enable him to make terms as before.

The Consular Agent at Alcazar reports that tranquillity has been restored in that district, the Ahel Serif tribe having made their submission, and over 100 arrests having been made amongst the rebels of the Khlot and Tlig tribes. Contingents from the Beni Hassen and Gharb tribes have joined the camp, which now contains about 1,500 troops. The Officer in Command of the expedition informed the Consular Agent that he would remain at Alcazar until order had been completely re-established in the district, and that he would then operate against the Beni Ghorfet and Sahel tribes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 27.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received February* 18.)

(No. 18.)
My Lord, *Tangier, February* 10, 1905.

WITH reference to Sir A. Nicolson's despatch No. 239 of the 30th December, 1904, regarding the arrangement that had been come to for the settlement of the case of Sid-el-Mehedi-el-Menebhi, I have the honour to report that Sid-el-Menebhi, having expressed the desire that his mother should remain at Tangier, as she is old and somewhat infirm, and could ill support the long journey to Cairo, Sir A. Nicolson, when acquainting Sid-ben-Sliman with the acceptance of the terms of settlement, expressed the hope that Sid-el-Menebhi's brother and nephew would be released from prison, and that the latter should be permitted to remain at Tangier to take care of Sid-el-Menebhi's mother.

I beg leave to transmit herewith translation of Sir A. Nicolson's letter, and of the reply of Sid-ben-Sliman, stating that the Sultan had consented to the release of the two prisoners upon condition that they, together with all Sid Menebhi's family, including his mother, should leave the country.

This letter arrived on the eve of the departure of Sir A. Nicolson, who was of opinion that it would be scarcely fair to Sid-el-Menebhi's mother to compel her to leave the country. Sid-el-Menebhi himself also was very unwilling to take his

mother with him, fearing that the journey might affect her health. I accordingly addressed a letter to Sid-ben-Sliman, requesting him to explain the position to the Sultan, who, I hoped, would consent to her remaining at Tangier under the care of her grandson.

I beg leave to transmit herewith a translation of my letter.

I regret to report that the reply I have received from Ben Sliman, translation of which is inclosed herewith, is to the effect that the Sultan insists on Sid-el-Menebhi's mother leaving Tangier.

Under the circumstances, and as I am convinced that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to move the Sultan from this position, and as, moreover, it is on every account desirable that the terms of the settlement be carried out and the whole question be disposed of as speedily as possible, I am, with the consent of Sid-el-Menebhi, addressing a letter to Sid-ben-Sliman acceding to the Sultan's wishes in this respect, and I trust that the necessary orders will now be given for the release of the two prisoners at Marrakesh, and for the removal of the embargo on Sid-el-Menebhi's house in that town.

I regret to have had to trouble your Lordship at this length, but in view of Sid-ben-Sliman's request that I should forward to your Lordship a literal translation of his letter, I have deemed it my duty to place the whole correspondence before your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 27.

Sir A. Nicolson to Sid-ben-Sliman.

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) *Tangier, December* 30, 1904.

I HAVE received the note which your Excellency was good enough to address to me on the 11th Showal (19th December), stating that His Majesty the Sultan had agreed to Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi retaining his properties at Tangier, and also to removing or disposing of his furniture and personal effects in his houses at Fez and Marrakesh; and your Excellency further stated that a sum of 10,000*l.* would be paid to Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi when he took his departure from this country. All the landed property and live-stock and agricultural produce which Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi possessed in Morocco, beyond the property at Tangier and the contents of the houses at Fez and Marrakesh are to be left in the hands of the Moorish Government, and the title-deeds of the above properties are to be handed to the Moorish Government. I have understood this, and accept the above conditions on behalf of Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi.

This letter will be handed to your Excellency by Hadj-el-Madani Menebhi and Sid Abdullah-el-Siksiwi, whom Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi is dispatching to Fez in order to make arrangements for the removal of the effects in his house, or for the sale of the effects which he does not require; and I have no doubt that your Excellency will give every facility to them for the due fulfilment of their duty. Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi tells me that his brother and his nephew are in prison at Marrakesh. I have no doubt whatever that His Majesty the Sultan will give orders for the release of these two men, who will see to the removal of the effects in the house at Marrakesh, and will bring them here with the exception of the articles which it may be considered desirable to sell.

I should be obliged if your Excellency would cause orders to be sent to the Umana at Mazagan, Laraiche, and Tangier to allow the effects of El-Menebhi to pass through the Customs. Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi proposes to take his brother with him to the foreign country where he will reside, but he wishes—and his desire is so natural that I am sure no difficulty will be raised to it—that the nephew should remain in his house here to take care of his mother, who is too old to undertake a long journey or to change her residence. When Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi's preparations for departure are complete, I should be glad if the 10,000*l.* were paid to Messrs. Pariente here. I am glad that this affair has now been satisfactorily settled, and I wish your Excellency all happiness and prosperity.

(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 27.

Sid-ben-Sliman to Sir A. Nicolson.

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) 8 *Kaada*, 1322 (*January* 14, 1905).

WE have received your letter of the 22nd Showal last, saying that Menebhi was sending the two bearers, Hadj-ben-Zeenib and Abdallah Sikseewi, as his agents for the removal of his property from his house at Fez, and to sell what he may intend to sell; and you request that His Shereefian Majesty graciously release Menebhi's brother Abbas and his nephew, who are now in prison at Marrakesh, that they may act as agents to take over his property in his house at Marrakesh and sell what he may decide to sell, with the condition that Abbas may go to dwell with his brother in the place whither he may go to reside and his nephew remain with his (Menebhi's) mother at Tangier, &c.

I conveyed your letter immediately to His Shereefian Majesty. After he had understood what you stated, he commanded me to answer you concerning the two men sent to take over his property in the Fez house, that he had accepted them and he had given instructions that they be permitted to take over the property he holds therein, and the Shereefian command for this has been issued to the authorities of the town, and the agents have begun to carry out this work. And as for Menebhi's brother and his nephew, it is not hidden from you that they are imprisoned for Government matters in which they are personally concerned, and the Government have the right to exercise their special authority over them as over any other persons; and that you did not speak on their behalf in your previous letters in which you make suggestions for the settlement of the case, and, among others, you clearly state that Menebhi should depart from Morocco with all his family; and His Shereefian Majesty consented to all you stated out of respect for your Government and out of respect for your Excellency also, and out of their desire to close this case satisfactorily, and so that there may remain no cause from which the slightest trouble might arise to either party either now or in the future; and since you now add the request for the release of the two above-mentioned, and that some of his family should remain in Tangier, His Shereefian Majesty is puzzled about the final settlement of the case, in the manner requested, which will satisfy everybody; and, therefore our Lord trusts that you will give your assistance to finish this case in a satisfactory manner, *i.e.*, that His Shereefian Majesty undertakes to consent to the release of the two men in prison from regard to the British Government and from regard for your Excellency, while you will see that what you suggested is duly carried out, and promise that Menebhi shall leave Morocco with all his family, so that not one of them remain in Tangier, neither his mother nor any one else; and it would appear that this would cause her no hardship; and we await your answer to complete the carrying out of what remains in connection with the case according to what is desired, by the power of God.

May you rest, &c.

(Signed) ABDELKRIM-BEN-SLIMAN.

Inclosure 3 in No. 27.

Mr. White to Sid-ben-Sliman.

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) *Tangier, January* 20, 1905.

I HAVE received your Excellency's letter of the 14th January, addressed to His Majesty's Minister, in which you state that His Shereefian Majesty has given the necessary orders to enable the property of Sid-el-Mehedi-el-Menebhi in his house at Fez to be taken over by the two men sent for that purpose, and that His Majesty also undertakes to consent to the release from prison of the brother and nephew of Sid-el-Menebhi, but desires that he should leave the country with all his family, including even his mother and nephew.

I am sure His Majesty's Government and Sir A. Nicolson will be pleased to learn the readiness with which His Shereefian Majesty has consented to the release of the two prisoners above referred to, which will facilitate the speedy realization of Sid-el-Menebhi's property and enable this affair to be quickly settled to the satisfaction of all parties. With regard to the mother of Sid-el-Menebhi, I am convinced that His

Shereefian Majesty will not wish to persist in his request that she should leave Tangier when it is explained to His Majesty that she is old and infirm, and was only brought to Tangier from Marrakesh with difficulty, and that the long journey her son is undertaking would be a painful and difficult one for her to accomplish; especially so should she accompany Sid-el-Menebhi there and thus arrive before he has procured a house and settled down. I beg your Excellency to explain this to His Majesty, and I am convinced His Majesty, whose kindness of heart is notorious, will be the first to desire that this lady should remain at Tangier, and that Sid-el-Menebhi's nephew should remain here to take care of her.

I trust, therefore, that His Majesty will give the necessary orders to enable Sid-el-Menebhi's brother and nephew to take over the property in his (Marrakesh) house, and sell or bring it to Tangier as soon as possible, in order that this matter may be concluded and Sid-el-Menebhi depart at an early date.

May you rest, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 27.

Sid-ben-Sliman to Mr. White.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.) 26 *Kaada*, 1322 (*February* 1, 1905).

I RECEIVED your letter of the 14th Kaada (20th January), in reply to mine to his Excellency Sir A. Nicolson, conveying the consent of the Moorish Government to his request for the release of Abbas, Mehedi-el-Menebhi's brother, and his nephew, who are imprisoned at Marrakesh, to act for him in taking over the property in the Morocco house, on the condition that they, with all his family, including his mother, brother, and nephew aforesaid, will leave with him for the country, in which he will take his residence, so that not one of them shall remain in Morocco, and you state that his mother is unable to undertake the long journey with her son to the place where he intends to reside, because of the excuses which he puts forward, and you repeat the request for the release of the two men and that the mother and the nephew may remain in Tangier.

I informed His Majesty of all the foregoing, and he gave it full consideration and instructed me to reply to you that neither you nor any one else can be unaware of the patience and forbearance His Shereefian Majesty has shown in this matter. In the first place he surrendered, this man and his family, so that he should go with his family to reside wherever they please; secondly, the Makhzen granted him all his properties and effects at Tangier and all the property which he has outside Morocco, which is the most important item of those possessions; thirdly, the Makhzen granted him all his furniture and effects in the house at Fez and that at Morocco, and it is well known that nothing of all this really belongs to him; fourthly, an additional gift was made to him of an important sum from the Treasury to assist him on his journey and in preparing a house in the place in which he will reside, on the condition that he depart with all his family from Morocco. And this was all done to content and please the exalted British Government and their respected Minister, and to conclude this matter, so that not a single cause might remain to bring forth the slightest word which would cause annoyance to either side, either now or in the future, as was arranged in the correspondence which passed between the Moorish Government and his Excellency the Minister, and no exception was made first or last of any one of this man's family: and how can exception be made of the mother, who is the first of the family and the most important member of it; and how can the conclusion of the matter be imagined if his mother or any other one of the family remain in Tangier, and what cessation of troubles to the mutually friendly Governments will result in this matter?

I request you, by instructions of His Shereefian Majesty, to act in accordance with the arrangement made in this affair, and that you will take into consideration the facilities which His Majesty has granted and the forbearance he has shown, and that you will assist towards the attainment of peace to both the exalted Governments, and that no further cause may arise to produce troubles to them, so that not one of this man's family shall remain at Tangier nor anywhere else in the country, and that you will send this letter *verbatim* to the exalted British Government in order that they may see with their well-known justice, and give their consideration to all that

His Majesty has borne to preserve their friendship and respect their honour, and His Shereefian Majesty is convinced that they will give their assistance towards carrying out the arrangement made in the matter.

I await your reply which will conclude this affair in a satisfactory manner by the power of God.

May you remain, &c.

(Signed) ABDELKRIM-BEN-SLIMAN.

Inclosure 5 in No. 27.

Mr. White to Sid-ben-Sliman.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.) *Tangier, February* 10, 1905.

I HAVE received your Excellency's letter of the 26th Kaada (1st February), informing me that you had brought to the knowledge of His Shereefian Majesty my letter repeating the request made by Sir A. Nicolson in his letter of the 30th December that the mother of Sid Mehedi-el-Menebhi be permitted to remain at Tangier, with her grandson to take care of her, but that His Shereefian Majesty was unwilling to grant this, and desires that not one of Sid-el-Menebhi's family should remain at Tangier or anywhere else in the country.

Much as I regret this decision, which will, I fear, entail considerable hardship upon an elderly lady against whom there has been no complaint, I have requested Sid-el-Menebhi to make the necessary arrangements for his mother and nephew to accompany him, as I am anxious to meet His Majesty's wishes so far as possible, and to bring this affair to a speedy conclusion.

I request your Excellency to be good enough to bring the foregoing to the knowledge of His Majesty, and to procure the necessary orders for the release of Sid-el-Menebhi's brother and nephew, and for full liberty to be accorded to them to carry out the instructions Sid-el-Menebhi may give in regard to the property in his house at Marrakesh, the embargo upon which will now, of course, be removed. I trust your Excellency will also issue instructions to the Umana at Mazagan to facilitate the embarkation of Sid-el-Menebhi's family, and the shipment of their effects to Tangier.

I am forwarding translations of this correspondence to His Majesty's Government as requested by your Excellency.

May you rest, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 28.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 21.)

Tangier, February 11, 1905.

My Lord,

I LEARN from the French Legation that M. Saint-Réné Taillandier has had two private audiences of the Sultan, and has laid before His Majesty the various proposals which he was instructed by his Government to submit.

The French Minister, in writing to Comte de Chérisey, who is left in charge of the Legation here, expressed his satisfaction at the manner in which the proposals had been received by the Sultan, who had assured him of his desire to introduce reforms in the government of this country.

M. Saint-Réné Taillandier recognizes that his task may be rendered more difficult by the Sultan consulting the Council of Notables summoned to Fez for that object, as reported in my despatch No. 15 of the 29th ultimo. I gather, however, that he is hopeful of being able to overcome opposition to the measures he is submitting for the Sultan's acceptance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 29.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received February* 18.)

(No. 22.)
My Lord, *Tangier, Februory* 11, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 14 of the 28th ultimo regarding the demand of the Moorish Government that foreigners should be warned to remove all their property intrusted to Moors in this neighbourhood in view of the measures the Government are about to adopt to restore order in the district, I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of a letter I have received from Sid Torres in reply to that I addressed him on the 25th ultimo, translation of which accompanied my above-mentioned despatch.

In this letter Sid Torres argues that, notice having been given to foreigners to withdraw their property, no responsibility will attach to the Moorish Government for any losses that may arise from the subsequent action of the Moorish authorities.

I have conferred with other foreign Representatives on this subject, similar letters having been received by them, and they are all of opinion that the Moorish Government cannot thus free itself of responsibilities for any damage that may be caused to foreign subjects through the action of their officials. As, however, they consider that this view is made sufficiently clear in their former letter they do not propose to make any further reply to Sid Torres on the subject.

Count de Chérisey, however, who is in temporary charge of the French Legation, tells me that, although he is at present making no reply to Sid Torres' letter, he thinks it advisable to avoid all possible misunderstandings; he therefore proposes later on, when the expedition now at Alcazar moves in this direction and approaches Tangier, to write again to Sid Torres referring to his previous letter and reminding him of the responsibility of the Moorish Government.

I propose, subject to your Lordship's approval, to adopt a similar course, for it is impossible for some British subjects, who have considerable interests in this district, to withdraw all their property without serious loss, especially as the terms of Sid Torres' letter with regard to the extent of the district referred to are so vague.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 29.

Sid Torres to Mr. White.

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) *Tangier*, 26 *Kaada*, 1322 (*February* 1, 1905).

I RECEIVED your letter of the 19th instant (25th January) replying to mine in which I informed you that His Shereefian Majesty had decided to send a force to this district to restore order, safeguard the roads, and punish the rebellious, in order that you might inform your nationals so that they should withdraw what interests they may have in the hands of the people of the district. You state that you will bring my request to the knowledge of the above mentioned and that you must reserve your right to present (claims for) whatever may arise from any action the Makhzen may take, and you ask for further explanations as to the extent of the district referred to. I note what you state and have to inform your Excellency that the advantage of sending the warning is to free the Moorish Government from what may happen, because he who is warned has no excuse, especially as the Treaties stipulate that the regulations of the districts shall be followed, and, if it is desired to exercise authority over those in the employ of foreign merchants in connection with domestic animals and ploughing, the merchants are to be notified thereof through the intermediary of their representatives, in order that they may send some person to attend to the withdrawal of their property so that it may not remain exposed to ruin. And as it is necessary to exercise authority over them the Moorish Government has given a notification in fulfilment of the Treaty stipulations and as a measure to extend security to life and property. As regards further explanations as to the extent of the

district, I have no clear declaration from the Moorish Government particularizing any one district more than any other, and I cannot, therefore, give you information limiting it.

May you, &c.
(Signed) MOHAMMED-BEN-EL-ARBI TORRES.

No. 30.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. White.

(No. 19.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 22, 1905.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 22 of the 11th instant, I approve your proposal to adopt a course similar to that which the French Chargé d'Affaires intends to take in regard to the demand of the Moorish Government that foreigners should be warned to remove all their property intrusted to Moors in the neighbourhood of Tangier, in view of the measures which the Government contemplate for the restoration of order in the district.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 31.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. White.

(No. 20.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 22, 1905.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 18 of the 10th instant, reporting the steps taken to endeavour to obtain from the Sultan permission for the mother and nephew of Sid-el-Menebhi to remain in Morocco on the departure of Sid-el-Menebhi for Egypt.

I approve your action in the matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 32.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received February* 25.)

(No. 23.)
My Lord, *Tangier, February* 15, 1905.

THE German subjects resident at Tangier recently addressed a Memorial to their Government similar to that of British subjects forwarded to your Lordship in Sir A. Nicolson's despatch No. 3 of the 4th ultimo.

The reply of the German Government has now been communicated to the memorialists, and is to the effect that the situation in this neighbourhood is now happily improved, but that should the lives or property of German subjects at any time be in danger the Government would take steps for their protection.

The Foreign Minister, in his despatch to the German Chargé d'Affaires, added that the training-ship "Stein" would visit Tangier, and that other men-of-war that might in future happen to be passing would be instructed to call at this port.

The "Stein" remained here three days.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 33.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received February* 25.,

(No. 25.)
My Lord, *Tangier, February* 18, 1905.

M. REGNAULT, the representative of the French bondholders, whose arrival at Tangier was reported in my despatch No. 103 of the 2nd July, 1904, left yesterday for Fez, having been sent for by the French Minister at the request of the Sultan.

Count de Chérisey informs me that one of the first topics discussed by M. Saint-René Taillandier with the Sultan was the financial situation, and, His Majesty desiring advice on the subject, it was suggested that, should His Majesty wish it, M. Regnault, who is an expert in financial matters, could be invited to Fez.

The Moorish Government have now exhausted nearly the whole of the recent French Loan, and, there being no immediate prospect of their being able to levy taxes on the tribes, it became necessary to discover other sources of revenue.

I understand from Count de Chérisey that for various reasons it is considered preferable not to raise another loan if it can be avoided, and that M. Regnault will propose other means of procuring funds, amongst them being the establishment of an Imperial Moorish Bank.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 34.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 4.)

(No. 25. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Madrid, February* 12, 1905.

I INQUIRED of the French Ambassador this morning whether he had received any news of interest from Morocco, especially with regard to the dispatch of a German man-of-war to Tangier Bay. M. Cambon informed me that he gathered, from telegrams which he had received, that the French Mission at Fez was meeting with a satisfactory reception there, and that, as yet, the prospects were fairly favourable. With respect to German movements he asked for my views.

I told M. Cambon that my impression was that the German Government were desirous of showing that, so far as they were concerned, the Anglo-French Convention had introduced no alteration in the *status quo ante;* and that, as they had no official cognizance of the above instrument, they were at liberty to ignore its existence. I imagined that the attitude assumed by the German Government, in response to the Petition of their subjects in Morocco, was an invitation to the French Government to initiate some discussion with a view to obtain their concurrence with the provisions of the Convention. When at Tangier I had some ground for believing that the German Government were prepared to recognize the Convention, provided their commercial interests were secured for the future on the same footing as the British. I had detected some anxiety on the part of the German Chargé d'Affaires, who probably reflected the views of his Government, lest hereafter, when France had obtained a firm footing in Morocco, foreign commerce, with the exception of British, might be placed at a disadvantage with French trade. I begged M. Cambon to understand that the above were simply personal views, based perhaps on slender foundations, but I regarded the recent action of the German Government, which, indeed, was a perfectly legitimate one, in the light of a reminder that in respect of Morocco German hands were perfectly free.

M. Cambon said it was quite possible my view was correct, and he did not anticipate that there would be any great difficulty in satisfying Germany in the direction I had indicated. He was, however, afraid that Spain might be encouraged to view with complacency any separate action in Morocco on the part of another Power, and might, so far as her restricted means permitted, endeavour to raise jealousies and difficulties. She was not entirely satisfied with the terms she had secured under the Franco-Spanish Agreement, and might hope to acquire indirectly, and with the aid of Germany, some further concessions.

As no member of the Spanish Government has, as yet, spoken to me on Moorish affairs, and as the press is practically silent on the subject, I am unable to express an opinion as to Spanish aspirations in Morocco, but I should have thought that the concessions she has secured would have amply satisfied her.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 35.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 4.)

(No. 29.)
My Lord, *Madrid, February* 17, 1905.

DURING a visit which I paid to the Prime Minister this morning, his Excellency asked me what significance I attributed to the summons which the Sultan's deputy at Tangier had received to proceed to Fez.

I told M. Villaverde that I had seen the announcement in this morning's papers, and I understood that the Sultan was anxious to consult all the leading men in Morocco with regard to the proposals which were being submitted by the French Minister, and that Hadj Mohammed Torres was one of the most experienced officials in the country, and of liberal views. He was, unfortunately, of a very advanced age, and a journey to the capital would be a serious undertaking for him.

M. Villaverde then inquired as to the general condition of Morocco, and as to the prospect of the French Minister being able to carry through his programme.

I told his Excellency that when I left Morocco the authority of the Moorish Government was throughout the greater portion of the country practically non-existent, and whenever any provincial Governor endeavoured to assert his position, the tribes rose and either drove him out of the district or burnt his residence. If the Government officials did not interfere with the tribes the latter remained fairly quiescent, as they were naturally well content with a condition of affairs in which they paid no taxes and were able to act as seemed best to them. I had received no information as to what progress the French Minister was making at Fez, but I thought it probable that he would eventually induce the Sultan and his Government to agree in principle to his programme, but that there were still many difficulties to be encountered before the projects, whatever they might be, were put into execution. I added that there was so much agitation in the mind of the Moorish populace, that, if I might be allowed to say so, I thought it would be prudent on the part of Spain to await till some calmness and quietude were introduced before moving in any way in her sphere of influence.

M. Villaverde appeared to agree with me, and remarked that in the sphere of influence of Spain were some of the most turbulent elements in Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) .A NICOLSON.

No. 36.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 4.)

(No. 27.)
My Lord, *Tangier, February* 26, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 12 of the 21st ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the reports that reach me regarding the state of the country in the southern districts continue to be of a fairly satisfactory nature.

The districts of the most influential Governors have been extended, and they have been able to establish their jurisdiction and have sent bodies of men from their districts to join the Sultan's forces at Fez.

On the other hand, the sale of Governorships to the less influential officers is continued as a means of bringing funds into the Treasury.

Mr. Consul Maclean reports that a force of well-armed infantry has arrived at Dar-al-Baida, and is to proceed to the Dukala Province, where it will be joined by

tribal contingents under the powerful Governor Kaïd Aissa Ben Omar. The whole force will be placed under the command of the Sultan's brother, Mulay Abbas, and will endeavour to levy taxes first amongst the tribes in the neighbourhood of Marakesh, and then those near Dar-al-Baida. It is doubted, however, whether this attempt to compel the tribes to pay taxes will be more successful than the former ones.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 37.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 11.)

(No. 29.)
Tangier, March 3, 1905.

My Lord,

HIS Majesty's Vice-Consul at Fez informs me that on the 21st ultimo the Sultan summoned to the Palace twelve Ulema and twelve merchants of Fez, and such of the Delegates from the other towns as had already arrived, to meet the Viziers. When they were all assembled they were addressed by the Sultan's Chamberlain, who, after referring to the present unsatisfactory state of the country, informed them that the French Minister had made representations in regard to the insecurity of the roads, the state of the army, and the position of affairs on the Algerian frontier, that these matters were to be discussed, and that His Majesty, being anxious that no public alarm or misapprehension should arise therefrom, had summoned the meeting in order that those present might be able to reassure their respective communities and prevent the dissemination of false or exaggerated reports. The Chamberlain added that the first discussion with the French Minister would take place the following day at the house of the Grand Vizier, and he invited those then present to attend. The meeting held on the 22nd ultimo at the Grand Vizier's house was accordingly attended by all the Ulema and Notables who had been at the Palace the previous day, as well as by all the Viziers. The French Minister, accompanied by three of his staff, entered the room after all were assembled and made a speech assuring the meeting of the friendship of the French for their country and their desire to see it enter on the path of progress and reform. He then explained the various measures of reform he desired to see introduced with a view to restoring order and security in the country, strengthening the position of the Sultan, and providing His Majesty with the funds necessary for carrying on the Government, and at the same time improving the position of the people.

From a usually well-informed native source I am informed that, after the French Minister had withdrawn from the meeting, a discussion took place, the Ulema and Notables showing themselves opposed to the French proposals. My informant states that three of the principal Ulema, including Mulai Dris Ben Abdelhadi, a cousin of the Sultan, enjoying great popularity and influence in Fez, subsequently had an audience with His Majesty and urged that, though many of the reforms proposed were excellent in themselves, the present was not a favourable moment for their introduction, and more especially not under French auspices, as it would probably give rise to serious trouble throughout the country.

The Sultan replied that he would act in accordance with the wishes of his people and would reject the French proposals.

It is difficult to say at present whether the above account of what passed, subsequently to the withdrawal of the French Minister from the meeting, is accurate, and if so whether, as my informant thinks, the Sultan would remain firm in rejecting the French proposals. From the accounts which Count de Chérisey tells me he has received from M. Saint-René Taillandier, it would appear that the latter, though recognizing that the Council of Notables will add to the difficulties of his task, still considers the outlook hopeful. Meetings are to be held two or three times a-week, and the French Minister proposes to commence with the question of military reforms, *i.e.*, the establishment of a properly equipped and efficient army and police force to be trained by French officers with the assistance of Algerians. The next subject of discussion will be the financial question, and lastly administrative reform, in regard to which M. Saint-René Taillandier expects to meet with most opposition.

The question of roads and bridges, telegraph lines to Fez and to the coast towns will,

I understand, be taken up and urged upon the Sultan if there appears any likelihood of their being favourably entertained, but they are regarded as subsidiary matters which must give way to the more pressing reforms mentioned above, viz., military, financial, and administrative.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 38.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 11.)

(No. 30.)
Tangier, March 5, 1905.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 17 of the 3rd ultimo, I have the honour to report that a force of 300 infantry left Tangier about a week ago, and encamped at two hours' distance from the town, to allow the villagers of the Fahs and the tribes of this bashalik to send their contingents to join them, in accordance with the Basha's instructions. No contingents having, however, come in, the force proceeded yesterday on its march to Alcazar, to join the expedition from Fez, which, by latest reports, was still at that town.

Raisouli has been in correspondence with the commander of the expedition, who requested him to be ready to join him with his followers and assist in punishing the rebels and restoring order. Raisouli has communicated this letter to the various villagers of the Fahs and instructed them to hold themselves in readiness to join him.

Although Raisouli has professed his loyalty and readiness to assist in restoring order, it is unlikely that he will trust himself within reach of the Sultan's force, fearing that the invitation is merely a ruse for his capture.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 39.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 3.)

(No. 34)
Madrid, February 28, 1905.

My Lord,

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs called on me yesterday on his return from Vienna and Paris; and I asked him whether, as the papers had reported, the Morocco question had been mentioned by M. Delcassé to him. Señor Villaurrutia said that only a word or two had been dropped on the subject, and that he had told M. Delcassé that Spain was desirous to co-operate with France so far as she was entitled to do so under the recent Convention.

Señor Villaurrutia added that the news he had received from Fez stated that the negotiations of the French Minister were proceeding very slowly, and that M. Saint-René Taillandier insisted on treating with the Sultan personally without the intervention or, indeed, presence of any of the Moorish Ministers. He also understood that the convocation of the Notables from the various towns had not been favourably received by the French Minister, who regarded this step as a pretext for delay.

He asked me if I had received any news of the assault on a French officer at Tangier by a British protégé; and I replied in the negative. Señor Villaurrutia observed that the incident appeared to have occasioned some excitement and much comment in Tangier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 40.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 18.)

(No. 31.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 9, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith translation of a letter addressed to me by Sid Ben Said, Acting Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, during the absence at Fez of Sid Torres, in regard to the trade in contraband goods, which has greatly increased of late years.

In this letter Sid Ben Said claims the right of the Moorish authorities to stop and search passing vessels, and complains that, when they attempt to exercise this right, they are fired upon by the crews of the vessels, and he refers to Article XXXIV of the General Treaty with Great Britain of 1856 and Article XXVI of the Spanish Treaty of 1861. These Articles, however, refer to piracy and not to smuggling, the provisions in reference to which are contained in Article XIII of our Commercial Convention of 1856 and in Articles LVI and LIX of the Spanish Treaty, whilst the right to search or place guards on board vessels in Moorish waters are dealt with in Articles XXVIII and XXIX of our General Treaty above referred to and in the corresponding Articles XXXIII and XXXIV of the Spanish Treaty, and also in the Regulations of the 19th March, 1896 (copy of which was inclosed in my despatch No. 84 of the 22nd June, 1895).

Sid Ben Said having addressed an identic letter to each of the foreign Representatives, the matter was discussed between us, and all were agreed that it was very desirable to assist as far as possible the Moorish authorities in their endeavours to check the importation of rifles and ammunition and their sale to the natives, who, being well armed, are enabled to resist the authorities, which is one of the principal causes of the present unsatisfactory state of the country. On the other hand, it is felt that, while all proper latitude should be permitted to the Moorish authorities in this respect, it would be dangerous to give them a free hand and allow them to interfere with passing vessels on mere suspicion, or even to proceed to the arrest of a vessel without previous notice to the Consular officer concerned, except in the case of a vessel detected actually landing goods in contraband at an isolated spot on the coast when such previous notice would not be possible.

I beg to transmit herewith translation of the letter I have addressed to Sid Ben Said, which is in the same sense as the reply made by the French and other Representatives.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT WHITE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

Abdallah-ben-Said to Mr. White.

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) *24th Hejja*, 1322 (*March* 1, 1905).

THE introduction of contraband has spread and the number of those engaging in it has increased, and it is, therefore, necessary to inquire and examime into the matter thoroughly. But as the officials who are deputed to search for it on behalf of the Moorish Government complain of the harm caused them by the sailors on the vessels and those who are engaged in this traffic (*i.e.*, the principals), because when called upon to haul-to the vessels or boats, and informed of the right of search, they fire on them, I write this so that you may inform British ship-owners of the right of search, and instruct them that, by the Treaties, they may not commit attacks on the officials, so that the latter shall not retaliate with actions similar to theirs. You are aware of the stipulations of Article XXXIV of the Convention with Great Britain of 1273 (1856) and Article XXVI of the Spanish Convention of 1278 (1861) for the purpose of suppressing disorder on the coast of Morocco and in its territorial waters, and it is necessarily understood that contraband is one of the greatest disorders. I await your early reply.

May you, &c.
(Signed) MOHAMMED ABDALLAH-BEN-SAID.

Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

Mr. White to Abdallah-ben-Said.

(After compliments.) *Tangier, 2nd Moharram*, 1323 (*March* 9, 1905).

I HAVE duly received your Excellency's letter of the 24th Hejja (1st March) in regard to the increased introduction of goods in contraband into this country, and I am glad to learn that the matter is to be thoroughly gone into with a view to putting a stop to it.

I can assure your Excellency that the Moorish authorities will continue to receive all proper assistance in this connection from this Legation and from British Consular officers, and that any British subject or person under British protection whom the Moorish authorities may detect in smuggling will be proceeded against in the British Consular Court, and punished in accordance with the provisions of Article XIII of the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Morocco, as has been done in such cases in the past.

Should the Customs authorities desire at any time to search a British vessel anchored in a Moorish port and suspected of having goods on board intended to be landed in contraband, every facility will be afforded to them on applying to the British Consular officer at that port. Should the Moorish authorities detect a vessel or boat actually engaged in landing goods in contraband on any isolated spot on the coast, and there be no time to communicate previously with the British Consular officer, the Moorish authorities will be justified in seizing such vessel or boat and bringing it to the nearest port, where it must be immediately delivered to the Consular officer, to whom all the circumstances of the case should be reported, and the necessary steps would be taken for the prosecution of the guilty parties. The Custom officers would, in the meantime, be at liberty to place the guard on board to see that no goods were landed in contraband. Should the master or crew of such vessel or boat fire upon the Moorish officials or guards they would, upon conviction, be duly punished for that offence in accordance with British law.

I am, however, unable, without authority from His Majesty's Government, to admit that Moorish authorities have a right to stop and search British vessels under weigh unless they are actually detected in smuggling. Should there be reason to suspect that any such vessel has contraband goods on board to be landed on the Moorish coast, the Moorish authorities can cause it to be watched or followed until it commenced landing its cargo in contraband, when the necessary steps could be taken.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 41.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 18.)

(No. 32. Confidential.) *Tangier, March* 10, 1905.
My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 29 of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to report that the Count de Chérisey informs me that the French Minister at his second meeting with the Vizirs and Notables explained in detail his scheme for reorganizing the Sultan's army. The proposals embrace a considerable increase in the French Military Mission, of which the head-quarters would continue to be at the Court, branches being established at each of the coast towns as well as at Oujdah, Figuig, and other posts on the Algerian frontier. Each branch would consist of several French officers, with a corresponding number of Algerian non-commissioned officers. Whilst not actually in command of the troops in his district, the Senior French Officer at each place would have the control of the recruiting, the payment of the men, and power to enforce their attendance and to maintain discipline, as well as the direction of the training and drilling. It is hoped that a number of efficient forces will thus be created, capable of maintaining order in their respective districts, and they will be a nucleus for the formation of a well-trained and disciplined army, which will enable the Sultan to establish his authority throughout his dominions and to collect the taxes from the people.

Count de Chérisey tells me that at the third meeting, which has doubtless already been held, the French Minister proposed to deal with the financial question, whilst at the two subsequent meetings he would pass on to the subjects of administrative reforms and the Algerian frontier. At these meetings M. Saint-René Taillandier does not enter upon any discussion, but confines himself to setting forth in detail and explaining the various proposals he has to make, so that the Vizirs and Notables can examine and discuss them amongst themselves. Thus the Vizirs will be in a position to negotiate with him in regard to them at subsequent meetings to be held without the Notables being present.

I inquired whether M. Saint-René Taillandier still took a hopeful view as to the results of the negotiations. Count de Chérisey replied that from his letters he gathered that M. Saint-René realized that he would have considerable opposition to contend against, as the majority of the Notables are hostile.

There is also a powerful section of the official classes who are opposed to reforms, whereby they know that their sources of wealth will be cut off. One of the Ulema, Sid-el-Kitani, who has recently visited Constantinople and the East, appears to exert a considerable adverse influence. He has strongly urged the Sultan to refuse the assistance of Algerians and Tunisians, but to employ Turks and Egyptians should outside assistance be necessary. Count de Chérisey, however, observed that the weak financial position of the Moorish Government provided them with a powerful lever, which would, he hoped, enable them to overcome the objections of the Sultan, and to obtain the acceptance of the more important measures proposed. The Sultan must shortly replenish his treasury, and will be unable to do so without French assistance.

There are, moreover, certain points on which the French Government are entitled to insist by virtue of the Agreements between France and Morocco negotiated at the time of the Moorish Mission at Paris in 1901, and subsequently in Algeria by M. Révoil through Sid-el-Guebbas, the present Minister for War, who was at that time Moorish Commissioner in Algeria. These Agreements contained most important clauses, which give France a very favourable position on the Algerian frontier, providing, as they do, amongst other stipulations, for joint markets and customs at ten or more posts along the frontier, including Oujdah and Figuig, and also for a joint military force to be stationed at each post, the French troops being thus empowered to maintain order on the Moorish side of the frontier.

I understand that the French Minister will, in any case, insist on the fulfilment of these stipulations, and also on the acceptance at any rate of the more essential portions of his proposals in regard to the reorganization of the army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 42.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 23.)

(No. 101A.)

Paris, March 22, 1905.

My Lord,

IN the course of conversation with M. Delcassé to-day, I asked him whether he could tell me anything about the German Emperor's intended visit to Tangier.

His Excellency could not, he said, understand what it was that Germany wanted When the negotiations between the French and British Governments were being carried on in March last, the German Ambassador had made inquiries of him as to their subjects and objects, and he had told the Ambassador that, as he had supposed, they related to Egypt, Newfoundland, and Morocco, and, as regarded Morocco, he reminded Prince Radolin of the declarations which he had made in the Senate and the Chamber as to the objects to be secured, viz., the restoration of order with the assistance of France, and respect for the political interests of Spain and the commercial interests of foreign countries. The German Ambassador had made no objection, and appeared to be satisfied.

In the autumn, before the publication of the Franco-Spanish Agreement, the text of it was communicated to the German Government by the French Embassy at Berlin. No objection was raised to it. In that Agreement the Agreement between France and England was referred to, and if the German Government had felt concerned in the Morocco questions they would naturally have asked to have the actual text of the

No. 41*.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 19.)

(No. 10.)

Tangier, March 19, 1905.

(Telegraphic.) P.

I AM informed that on 31st March the German Emperor will pay a short visit to Tangier.

31*

No. 42*.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 23.)

(No. 12.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, March* 23, 1905.

THE Moorish authorities are making great preparations to receive the German Emperor, whose forthcoming visit causes the native population most lively satisfaction, as it is looked upon as a check to the designs of the French. Germany, it is thought generally throughout the country, is willing to lend the Sultan its support in withstanding France, and the visit of the Kaiser will increase the conviction of the people that this is so.

F.O. 413/37
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Anglo-French Agreement. They did not, however, ask for such communication, nor did they raise any objection to the Franco-Spanish Agreement. The commercial interests of Germany having been duly respected by the Agreements made by France with England and Spain, and Count von Bülow having publicly declared that Germany had no territorial ambitions, but only commercial interests in Morocco, what could the German Government desire to obtain by the Emperor's visit to Tangier? It raised expectations amongst the Moors.

M. Delcassé showed by his manner and the tone of his conversation that he was uneasy about German policy as regards Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 43.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 24.)

(No. 13.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, March* 24, 1905.

WITH reference to the last paragraph of my despatch No. 38, I have not yet received any confirmation of the rumour therein reported.

I am informed by the French Chargé d'Affaires that M. Saint-René Taillandier expresses no dissatisfaction with the Sultan's present attitude.

No. 44.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 25.)

(No. 33.) *Tangier, March* 16, 1905.

My Lord,

THE French Chargé d'Affaires, having referred to the intention of the French Government to give effect to the provisions of the "Accord Révoil," I inquired whether he could give me any information as to the Agreement he referred to.

Count de Chérisey replied that the Protocol signed by Sid Ben Sliman in Paris in 1901 merely traced the general lines of the Agreement that had been come to, and that the details were only settled later in Algeria, and embodied in an Agreement signed by M. Révoil, then Governor-General; and Sid Mohammed Guebbas, the Moorish Commissioner, now Minister for War at Fez.

In addition to settling the frontier, this Agreement provided for the appointment of French Military Missions at Oojdah and Figuig, and for the establishment of markets at various points along the frontier as far as Igli to be under the joint control of French and Moorish officials. At each of these places there is also to be a custom-house, at which dues are to be levied by the Moorish Government under a special tariff, of which Count de Chérisey could give me no particulars except that it was lower than that applied at the ports. I gathered that it is probable that the duties will be collected by the Algerian Government, a fixed sum being paid to the Moorish Government annually in lieu thereof.

It is further stipulated in the Agreement that order on the frontier is to be maintained by bodies of French and Moorish soldiers to be stationed at these posts. These soldiers will be under the command of their own officers, but should the Moorish troops fail to maintain order on their side of the frontier the French troops are at liberty to do so.

It appears that when M. Révoil left Algeria the question of carrying out the provisions of this Agreement was allowed to drop, nothing being done except the stationing of Military Missions at Oojdah and Figuig, but now M. Jonnart is fully alive to the importance of the matter, and it has been decided to give effect to the Agreement without delay, and M. Saint-René Taillandier will make the necessary arrangements with the Moorish Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 45.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 25.)

(No. 34.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 17, 1905.

HAVING observed in the Spanish papers a statement that the Bank of Spain is about to establish a branch in Tangier with a view to fostering Spanish commerce in this country, I took an opportunity of inquiring of the Spanish Minister whether the report was correct.

Señor de Cologan replied with some reserve, merely saying that he had seen the statement in the papers, but that he had no positive information on the subject. The Spanish Government had been approached on the subject, and it was quite likely that an agency of the Bank would be opened here.

Señor de Cologan observed that he would probably leave for Madrid to-morrow for a few days, but did not mention the object of his sudden visit.

The steamers of the Spanish Transatlantic Company are about to resume their monthly service to the Canary Islands, touching at the Moorish ports, which was suspended some little time ago, and there are other signs that there is a movement in Spain to extend their interests in Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 46.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 25.)

(No. 35.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 18, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 30 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to report that it is generally believed that, as a result of the negotiations between the Commander of the troops sent from Fez and Raisuli, the latter has received the appointment of Governor of the Fahs and of the Gharbia tribe, and a friend of his, El Ayashi Zellul, has been made Governor of the mountain tribes of Beni M'sowar and Beni Aros, which also were hitherto under the Governor of Tangier.

I have not yet been able to obtain any official confirmation of this report, but it is believed by natives, who are in a position to be well informed, and it would appear to be true.

Should this be so, it is difficult to say whether the appointments have been made in good faith, or whether it is merely a ruse to lull Raisuli into a false sense of security and subsequently arrest him. He himself will probably be careful how he trusts himself within the power of the authorities, unless he feels that his safety is secured. El Ayashi Zellul belongs to the Beni M'sowar tribe, of a fraction of which he is Chief. He has no grounds for fearing the authorities, as he has kept loyal, though a friend of Raisuli.

The troops are still encamped at Sidi-el-Yemani, about 33 miles from Tangier, but they are expected to march shortly in this direction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 47.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 25.)

(No. 36.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 18, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 32 of the 10th instant, I have the honour to report that the French Minister has now completed his statement and explanation of the various proposals he had to make to the Sultan, and will now proceed to their discussion in detail.

I understand that in addition to the military forces to be trained by French officers, M. Saint-René Taillandier has proposed the establishment of a small force of

33

civil police or detectives at each port under French Commissaires de Police, similar to that already established at Tangier, as reported in my despatch No. 126 of the 23rd July last.

In connection with the financial proposals, M. Saint-René Taillandier has suggested the establishment of an Imperial Moorish Bank, which would be able to make advances to the Moorish Government as required upon suitable security. It would be much in the same position as the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Turkey.

It has been pointed out to the Sultan that there are abuses in the custom-houses, and that the Government does not derive its proper revenue from this source. With a view to remedying this His Majesty has been urged to grant to the French Delegates at the custom-houses the power of inspection and control. Should the Sultan accept this proposal, full import and export duties will presumably be levied, and there will be some dissatisfaction amongst merchants, who have hitherto been accustomed to paying less than the full duties. On the other hand, there will be the advantage of the same rate of duty being levied on all equally.

Another proposal put forward by the French Minister is the laying of a telegraphic cable to connect Tangier with all the western ports. It is suggested that the cable should be laid for the account of the Moorish Government, who would retain the working of it in their own hands, employing foreigners for the purpose. This would be a great boon to merchants on the coast, but Count de Chérisey appears to doubt whether the Sultan will agree to it.

The French Minister further proposed the improvement of the various ports by the construction of moles, building of proper customs stores, &c. He has recommended the Sultan to undertake these works himself, little by little, as funds are available, and not to grant concessions for them. In the meantime, the lighter service should be placed upon an efficient footing.

I understand from Count de Chérisey that M. Saint-René Taillandier has recently had to adopt a firmer tone with the Sultan and his Viziers, and has given them to understand that, whilst his Government is anxious that order should be restored in this country by the Sultan under their guidance, if this is not accepted, they would have to take the necessary measures themselves for restoring order without His Majesty's co-operation.

From other sources I learn that M. Saint-René Taillandier even threatened to leave Fez at once unless the Moorish Government should show a more conciliatory disposition. This change of attitude had the desired effect, and the Moorish Government has now become more tractable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 48.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 25.)

(No. 37. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 18, 1905.

FROM language used by the French Minister to Mr. Vice-Consul Macleod, it appears that the attitude of the German Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier and Vice-Consul at Fez is causing him some preoccupation, as he fears that the Sultan may thereby be stiffened in his opposition to their proposals.

Dr. Vassel, the German Vice-Consul at Fez, has, since the arrival of the French Mission, had several interviews with the Sultan and with Sid Ben Sliman, as well as with other Court officials, and this has given rise to the belief amongst the Moors of Fez that the Sultan is receiving advice and assistance from the German Government. The French Minister had no information as to what had passed between Dr. Vassel and the Court, but observed to Mr. Vice-Consul Macleod that he considered his attitude inexplicable—the more so as in the late crisis the attitude of the German Government had been unquestionable, and they had assured them, not once, but a dozen times, that they had none but economic interests in Morocco, and had no objection to the French programme, of which they were well aware. He could not therefore suppose that the German Government had any intention of interfering, or had authorized Dr. Vassel's proceedings.

Somewhat similar language has been held to me by Count de Chérisey in regard to the attitude of the German Chargé d'Affaires, M. von Kuhlmann, who invariably opposes any proposed action by the Corps Diplomatique which could be taken to imply a recognition of French preponderance in this country, even objecting to M. Saint-René Taillandier being requested to present any demands on behalf of the Foreign Representatives, as is usually done by any Minister who may happen to be at Court upon a Mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 49.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 25.)

(No. 38. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 19, 1905.

I LEARN from a usually well-informed native source that the Sultan, after consultation with his Viziers and the Notables, has decided to accept the French proposals for the laying of a telegraphic cable to the western ports, and for the construction of bridges on the road between Tangier and Alcazar. His Majesty will also agree to the arrangements proposed for giving the French Delegates greater control at the custom-houses, whereby it is hoped that the revenue will be considerably increased.

With regard to the proposals in connection with the reorganization of the army, the Sultan, I am told, will accept them, with some modifications, of which the principal is that of the non-commissioned officers to serve at each post under the French officers, half are to be Tunisians and half Egyptians. The French wished to employ Algerians and Tunisians, but the Sultan refuses to have Algerians and will stipulate that half of them should be Egyptians.

My informant stated that the foregoing is the sense of the replies to be shortly delivered to the French Minister.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

P.S.—Since closing this despatch my informant has received further news from Fez to the effect that the French Minister, as was to be expected, has refused to accept the substitution of Egyptian for Algerian non-commissioned officers for training the army under French officers. The Sultan, on the other hand, if my informant's news is correct, is being urged by the Viziers and Notables to remain firm on this point, and to appeal to Germany for assistance should M. Saint-René Taillandier insist on the employment of Algerians and Tunisians exclusively.

H. E. W.

No. 50.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 25.)

(No. 39.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 19, 1905.

THE German Chargé d'Affaires informs me that he has received a telegram informing him that the German Emperor will arrive at Tangier early on the morning of the 31st instant, and instructing him to acquaint the Moorish Government with the proposed visit. M. von Kühlmann believes that the Emperor will remain here for a few hours, and will leave in the afternoon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT WHITE.

No. 51.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 25.)

(No. 14. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, March* 25, 1905.

GERMAN intervention in Morocco.

I have been told in confidence by the Spanish Minister at Tangier, who is spending a few days in Madrid, that the German Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier informed him that he had communicated to the Moorish Government, by order of the German Government, that the latter would regard as contrary to the traditional friendship existing between Morocco and Germany any change in the international equality of treatment in Morocco.

I was also informed by the Spanish Minister that he had received letters to-day from Tangier to the effect that the French negotiations at Fez had failed.

No. 52.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 26.)

(No. 15.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, March* 26, 1905.

THE Sultan has just sent a message to Kaïd Sir H. Maclean ordering him to take over supreme command of the forces here during the visit of the Kaiser, and also stating that the local Moorish authorities have received orders to the same effect.

Kaïd Sir H. Maclean is informed by the Sultan that it was at the request of the German Government, conveyed through their Consul at Fez, that this appointment was made.

The German Chargé d'Affaires here has written to Kaïd Maclean informing him that he had heard of his appointment, and conveying his congratulations.

No. 53.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 26.)

(No. 16.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, March* 26, 1905.

THE Sultan has written to Kaïd Sir H. Maclean ordering him to go to Fez for a short while as soon as the German Emperor's visit is over. Sir H. Maclean would be glad to receive the favour of instructions from your Lordship.

No. 54.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 27.)

(No. 74.)
My Lord, *Berlin, March* 23, 1905.

THE press of this Empire have not been slow to seize the opportunity of the approaching visit of the Emperor to Tangier to discuss in innumerable articles the whole question of Germany's position towards Morocco. The general tendency so far has been to emphasize the non-political character of His Majesty's cruise in those waters, and to lay stress on the magnitude of the commercial interests which call for watchful protection on the part of the German Government. These interests are well summed up in an article in the "National Zeitung" of yesterday's date, translation of which I herewith have the honour to inclose.

The "North German Gazette" of the 20th instant repeats the assurances given by the Emperor to the King of Spain at Vigo last year, when His Majesty declared that Germany sought no territorial advantages in Morocco, and only desired equal commercial rights. This article continues then as follows:—

"We have no reason up to now to imagine that the Sultan of Morocco intends to incur obligations which would restrict his independence and prevent him in future from according equality of treatment to all nations trading in his dominions. Moreover, the situation of Morocco inevitably involves the necessity of taking into consideration in connection with this question the interests of international intercourse and trade."

In to-day's issue of the same semi-official paper, the following paragraph has been composed, with the evident object of impressing on the public the Government view on the subject:—

"In reply to comments, of foreign newspapers, who are endeavouring to ascribe a political object to the Emperor's visit to Tangier, it must in the first place be definitely laid down that there was no reason why His Majesty should omit to touch at that port during the Mediterranean cruise. The axiom of German policy towards Morocco—no acquisition of territory, but the maintenance of the open door, *i.e.*, the commercial equality of all nations—has from all time been so clearly expressed, that the attempt to discover in the Emperor's visit a starting point of a new policy must prove futile."

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Inclosure in No. 54.

Extract from the "National Zeitung" of March 22, 1905.

Germany's Interests in Morocco.

(Translation.)

THESE interests are of various kinds: trade, shipping, and postal and telegraphic communication. German merchants have been established in Morocco for a quarter of a century. To-day not quite thirty German firms are established in Tangier and in the western harbours which import from Germany porcelain and iron goods, cloth, sewing-machines, and dyes and export to Germany hides, wool, olive oil, wax, almonds, &c.

In 1902 Germany imported goods to the value of 3¾ million marks; in the same year England imported goods to the value of 23⅓ million marks, French imports being worth 9⅜ million marks. In the same year the value of exports to Morocco amounted to 4½ million marks from Germany, 14 million marks from England, and 5¼ million marks from France. We must therefore admit that France is a good way in advance of us, and as to England there is no comparison, even if one adds to the millions of supplies continually sent thither the quantities of arms, ammunition, and coined money which a German firm made for the Moorish Government in the above-mentioned year.

One must not omit to mention that for years German trade has been continually increasing, whilst French trade remains stagnant.

A strong and steady increase is to be seen in German shipping interests in Morocco. In the first place may be mentioned the Oldenburg-Portuguese steam-ship trade which in a fortnight's interval connects Hamburg and Antwerp with the Moroccan harbours. Besides this, in the summer, at irregular intervals ships belonging to the Sloman Line call at Tangier. The seven Moroccan harbours—Tangier, Laraiche, Rabat, Casablanca, Mazagan, Saffi, and Mogador—were visited in 1902 by 285 German ships, about 650 English, as against 400 French ships.

For seven years past there has been established in Morocco, under the able direction of Stoecker, a German post, which is not only much frequented by the German and foreign merchants, but in particular by the native population, and which enjoys a steady and growing custom. The German post holds the first rank in Morocco; the French post can hardly dispute her title to that place. In the interior, the German post commands almost the entire money market and is preferred by Arab merchant circles. The cable is, however, in a bad way, Tangier alone being connected with the net-work of cables which encircle the globe.

No. 55.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 27.)

(No. 75. Confidential.)

Berlin, March 23, 1905.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador called upon me yesterday, and spoke of the approaching visit of the Emperor to Tangier. He had been informed that His Majesty would only remain a few hours in the port, and it was even doubtful if he would land. M. Bihourd said that he was convinced that the Emperor would land, and he thought it quite natural that he should do so. It would certainly interest His Majesty to see something of Tangier, and he was not inclined to attribute much political importance to His Majesty's visit.

There was, however, a point in connection with Morocco upon which M. Bihourd wished to ask my opinion confidentially. A report had reached him some time ago that the German Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier had stated that Germany knew nothing of the Anglo-French Agreement of the 8th April, 1904, with regard to Egypt and Morocco, and was not in any way bound by it. M. Bihourd had asked Herr von Mühlberg whether this report was correct, and had received the reply that he had no knowledge of the statement attributed to the Chargé d'Affaires, but that, as a matter of fact, the Agreement had not been communicated to the German Government. M. Bihourd was not satisfied with this reply, and had therefore drawn up a Memorandum asking what meaning was to be attached to the statement said to have been made by the German Chargé d'Affaires. He had communicated this Memorandum unofficially to Her von Mühlberg, but had received no reply. The German Government might be technically correct in stating that as the Agreement had not been officially communicated to them they had no knowledge of its contents; but it had been published in the newspapers, and it was a matter of common knowledge that negotiations had been carried on between the British and German Governments as to the modifications which had been brought about by the Agreement in the position in Egypt.

If the German Government had thought it necessary to apply to His Majesty's Government with regard to the position in Egypt, in respect of which he understood the German Government had obtained certain concessions, why should they have refrained from applying to the French Government in respect of Morocco.

I replied that the cases were not quite similar. It was necessary to obtain the consent of the German Government to the Khedivial Decree, which caused certain modifications in the former position of Egypt. The German Government thereupon demanded certain concessions, or rather the recognition of certain rights which they had hitherto enjoyed, and which were very similar to the concessions which were granted to France.

In the case of Morocco there had been no necessity to ask the German Government to agree to a Decree modifying the former state of things, and the German Government had probably not thought it necessary to approach the French Government on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 56.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 27.)

(No. 19.)

(Telegraphic.) P.

Tangier, March 27, 1905.

MY telegram No. 15 of yesterday.

I have been with Kaïd Sir H. Maclean to see the French Chargé d'Affaires here, and we have come to an arrangement whereby the Kaïd's appointment shall not clash with the French officer's position here. Comte de Chérisey expressed himself quite satisfied with this arrangement.

No. 57.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 138.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 27, 1905.

I HAD a short conversation with the French Ambassador to-day upon the subject of Morocco and the German Emperor's visit, which his Excellency thought was likely to create a good deal of uneasiness and excitement. I said that we had received two telegrams from Mr. White, in one of which I was informed that Kaïd Maclean had been desired by the Sultan to take supreme command of all the troops on the occasion of the German Emperor's visit. I was particularly anxious that Kaïd Maclean should do nothing to add to the difficulty of the situation, but as he had, I believed, never been relieved of his position as Commander of the Sultan's infantry, it seemed rather difficult to prevent his taking command of them on this occasion. I added that if Kaïd Maclean were prevented from obeying the Sultan's order the latter would probably be much annoyed, with the result that the incident would acquire an importance which it did not deserve. M. Cambon said that he did not attach much importance to the matter, and it was probably too late to prevent Kaïd Maclean from assuming command. I told his Excellency that Kaïd Maclean had also been invited by the Sultan to visit Fez, but that we had discouraged the idea of his going to that place in present circumstances.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 58.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received March 28.)

(No. 16.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, March* 28, 1905.

THE visit to Tangier of the German Emperor.

A telegram sent by the correspondent of the "Standard" here, stating that the Spanish Representative at Tangier has been authorized by his Government to co-operate with the German Colony in reception, has much vexed M. de Villaurrutia. He had, on the contrary, sent instructions to Spanish Minister that, beyond what was demanded by courtesy, he should abstain from any participation in reception. It might be interpreted as placing hindrances in the way of French negotiations at Fez, and anything of this nature the Spanish Government were most anxious to avoid.

No. 59.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received March 28.)

(No. 21.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, March* 28, 1905.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 6, I am informed by the French Chargé d'Affaires that the Moorish Government have not yet replied to any of the proposals. The French Minister cannot be said to have entered upon the formal discussions as yet, as the discussion among the Vizier and notables has first to take place. A certain amount of opposition and delay in consequence thereof will occur, the French Minister thinks, but he does not despair of obtaining substantial results eventually.

F.O. 415

No. 61*.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 31.)

(No. 25.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, March* 31, 1905.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 24 of to-day:

Shortly before 12 noon the German Emperor disembarked, and rode up direct to the German Legation, where he received the Sultan's Great Uncle and the foreign Representatives. About 1 o'clock His Majesty left the Legation and re-embarked on board his yacht for Gibraltar. His Majesty did not visit the Old Palace, which the Moorish Government had prepared for his reception.

No. 60.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received March* 29.)

(No. 23.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, March* 29, 1905.

I HAVE received a report from British Vice-Consul at Fez that ever since the receipt of the news of the forthcoming visit of the German Emperor to Tangier there has been a stiffening of the opposition to the proposals of the French Minister.

Considerable political significance is attached, he says, to this event in Fez, as being contrary to French interests.

No. 61.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. White.

(No. 9.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, March* 30, 1905.

IN reply to your telegram No. 23 of the 29th instant, you should, during the visit of the German Emperor, take great care to avoid any action which could in any way appear to be hostile to French interests.

No. 62.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 41.)
Madrid, March 16, 1905.

My Lord,

A GENTLEMAN, who is a member of the Senate, and much interested in the development of Spanish interests in Morocco, called on me this morning, with the view, he said, of consulting me in regard to the prospects of increasing commercial relations and establishing industrial enterprises in that country. He told me that very shortly the project for making harbours at Melilla and the Chafferine Islands would be made public, as competent Government engineers had elaborated schemes for the above purpose. The undertaking would be offered to public tender, and the estimated cost for the two ports was about 350,000*l*. It was also intended to remove eventually the convict establishment from Ceuta, and transform that place also into a commercial port. Further, he trusted the Government would also abolish what he termed the absurd anomaly of Melilla and Ceuta being considered as regards Spanish commercial shipping as foreign ports, and that these places would, he hoped, in respect to the Spanish coasting trade, be placed on the same footing as the home ports.

I told him that, in my opinion, the first necessity for the furtherance of any legitimate trade was the establishment of order and security, especially among the turbulent districts neighbouring to Ceuta and Melilla. This was clearly a matter which would require some time. In the meanwhile, as harbour works were not constructed in a day, it might be advisable to proceed with the undertakings he had indicated, and which would be prosecuted within Spanish territory. As to the question of including Ceuta and Melilla within the category of home ports, the matter was new to me, but at first sight it seemed to me, if the proposed undertakings were to prosper, that it would be prudent not to hamper general trade by any restrictions or special privileges.

As regards the establishment of order, this, as he knew, had been intrusted to France, and it would be well to await the results of the present French negotiations at Fez.

My visitor agreed with this, and said he hoped my country would compete in the public tenders for the harbour works, as he and his friends were anxious to work in co-operation with the English.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 63.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 46.)
My Lord, *Madrid, March* 23, 1905.

A PORTION of the Madrid press, following apparently journals in other countries, is commencing to discuss the visit of the German Emperor to Tangier, and interpreting it in various lights. The German Ambassador spoke to me this afternoon on the subject, and said that it was absurd to attribute any "arrière-pensée" to the visit, which was directed solely by simple curiosity.

I told M. de Radowitz that the German Military Attaché to his Embassy, who is to accompany His Majesty to Tangier and Gibraltar, had asked me a few days back whether, in my opinion, there was any personal risk to the Emperor if he landed at Tangier. I had told Baron de Senden that I did not think that there was any fear of anything in the nature of personal risk, but that I considered that His Majesty would find the landing a little embarrassing and that it would be difficult to organize any reception of a dignified character. In my opinion, it would be impossible for the Emperor to land incognito, and, knowing the topography and all arrangements at the Tangier landing stage, I was afraid that His Majesty might be considerably hampered. Moreover, the Moors, accustomed to see their Sultan invested with a certain pomp, would be surprised to witness a great European Sovereign making a progress through the Tangier streets, amid the usual Oriental crowd, as a simple tourist. In short, as he had asked for my opinion, I should think on the whole it would be better if His Majesty were to view Tangier from his vessel.

M. de Radowitz said that he quite agreed with me in this view, but that the Emperor was always desirous of inspecting strange places. It was unfortunate, he added, that importance had been given in the press to a very simple and natural desire on the part of the Emperor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 64.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 47. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Madrid, March* 23, 1905.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch, I have the honour to report that the Minister for Foreign Affairs spoke to me in regard to the visit of the German Emperor to Tangier, a subject, he said, on which he had been conversing with the Spanish Minister to Tangier, who had just arrived in Madrid. M. de Villaurrutia said that it would appear that considerable excitement was being caused at Tangier by the news of the visit, and that the German Chargé d'Affaires at that place had dispatched a special courier to Fez in order to acquaint the Sultan with the fact of the visit, and that the news would probably be rapidly disseminated in an exaggerated form throughout the country. The visit was, so far as the French negotiations were concerned, somewhat inopportune, as the Sultan might attribute to it greater importance than the case justified, and be hardened in the opposition which, M. de Villaurrutia said, he understood was being made at Fez to the French proposals. The visit came, he continued, immediately after the allusions of M. de Bülow to the Morocco question, and it also almost synchronized with the increased interest the United States of America apparently were taking in Morocco by the elevation of their Consulate-General to the position of a Legation. All these coincidences, M. de Villaurrutia added, might be fortuitous, but the question was whether they would be so regarded by the Sultan and his people, and whether the Moorish Government might not be disposed to consider that two Powers, in any case, were not inclined to leave the field entirely open to the French?

I told M. de Villaurrutia that the German Ambassador had stated that the visit was entirely devoid of any political significance; and this I believed was probably the case. Still, I admitted that the question was not so much what might be in the mind

of the German Emperor, but what impression, erroneous though it might be, would be produced on the Sultan and his Ministers and advisers. In this respect the visit was perhaps unfortunate, as it would be a matter for regret if anything occurred at the present moment to hamper the French negotiations at Fez.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 65.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 49. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Madrid, March* 26, 1905.

M. DE COLOGAN, Spanish Minister at Tangier, and who has recently been transferred in the same capacity to Washington, is here on a brief visit, and was good enough to call upon me yesterday afternoon.

M. de Cologan informed me that great excitement had been caused at Tangier by the approaching visit of the German Emperor, and that the natives were regarding it as an event of considerable political importance. The general impression, as far as he had been able to ascertain, was that the visit was an indication that Germany wished to intimate that she was much interested in Morocco, and did not desire that France should have undisputed and exclusive control over Moorish affairs. He wished to tell me privately that the German Chargé d'Affaires had recently informed him in confidence that, by order of his Government, he had made a communication to the Moorish Government that, if any alterations or modifications were made in the international equality which had hitherto existed in Morocco, Germany would regard such action as a departure from the traditional friendship between the two countries.

M. de Cologan said that he understood that this intimation had caused a deep impression at Fez, and that his information was to the effect that the Sultan was in frequent consultation with the German Consul at Fez. The visit, therefore, of the German Emperor would lend additional emphasis to the attitude which Germany had assumed, and would undoubtedly give rise to expectations in the Moorish mind which possibly might be exaggerated and probably in great measure remain unfulfilled. In any case, the action of Germany would retard and hamper the French negotiations at Fez, and, indeed, from letters which he had received that morning from Morocco, it would seem that the Sultan and his Government had given a final refusal to all the French demands, with the exception of certain concessions regarding the institution and organization of police forces at Tangier and some of the ports. M. de Cologan added that the opposition—he used the word "hatred"—to all French propositions was widespread and intense, and, in these circumstances, it would be easy for Germany to assume the part of defender of the independence of the Sultan and of the maintenance of the *status quo*.

During my stay at Tangier I did not always find that the information with which my Spanish colleague was supplied was indubitably accurate, but the confidences of the German Chargé d'Affaires are significant and of some interest. If I recollect rightly, I reported on one occasion to your Lordship from Tangier, privately or officially, that the German Chargé d'Affaires had stated to me that his Government would be disposed to admit the predominating influence of France in Morocco on certain conditions, and it is possible that the German Government are desirous of showing that this good-will and consent are a valuable acquisition, which it would be to the advantage of France, for the successful prosecution of the task she has undertaken, to take means to secure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 65*.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 53.)
My Lord, *Madrid, March* 29, 1905.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs called upon me last evening, and said that he wished to speak to me in regard to a telegram sent to the "Standard" by its correspondent in Madrid, which, according to information received from the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, had caused some annoyance in that capital. The correspondent had stated that the Spanish Government was organizing, through its Legation at Tangier, a demonstration conjointly with the German Colony there, on the occasion of the visit of the German Emperor, which would, in a measure, have a character hostile to the French policy. The correspondent had, moreover, added that the Spanish Government had kept that of Germany informed of the progress of the Anglo-French negotiations in regard to the Agreement concluded last year, and had communicated to Berlin a copy of the Agreement before its publication.

M. de Villaurrutia said that he was much vexed at such statements being telegraphed from Madrid, and he need not assure me that they were quite without any foundation.

On the contrary, he had impressed on the Spanish Minister at Tangier that, beyond those acts of courtesy which it was proper and natural he should perform, he was to carefully abstain from associating in any demonstrations of any character whatsoever. M. de Villaurrutia said that he was aware there was a certain amount of friction between the Spanish and French Colonies at Tangier, and it was possible that the former would seize the opportunity of the visit of the German Emperor to indirectly exhibit their discontent, but it was clear that the Spanish authorities could in no wise countenance such demonstrations. The Spanish Government were most anxious to do nothing which could hamper or check the French negotiations at Fez.

The statement of the correspondent that the Spanish Government had kept the German Government fully informed of all the negotiations regarding the Anglo-French Agreement was, he said, almost too ridiculous to require refutation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 66.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 44.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 25, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy, together with translation, of an article in a local Spanish paper, the "Eco Mauritano," showing with what enthusiasm the news has been received of the approaching visit of the German Emperor.

Ever since the signing of the Anglo-French Agreement, the dislike and suspicion of the native population towards the French has greatly increased, and the belief is universal amongst them that it is their intention to take possession of the country. The feeling of suspicion is naturally especially alert at the present time, owing to exaggerated reports regarding the demands of the French Minister at the Court; and letters received from all parts of the country show that it is universally believed that the German Government is opposed to French designs, and is prepared, if appealed to by the Sultan, to bring pressure to bear on the French Government with a view to maintaining the *status quo*. This belief is current not merely amongst the common people, but also amongst the official classes, who speak openly on the subject.

It is natural, therefore, that the visit of the Emperor, coming at such a time, should cause the greatest satisfaction amongst all classes of the native population, who regard it as confirming their belief that the German Government is willing to assist the Sultan to withstand the French.

No report has yet been received as to the effect produced at Fez by the approaching Imperial visit. The German Chargé d'Affaires, by order of his Government, officially

informed the Moorish Government of the intention of the Emperor to land at Tangier on the 31st instant, and special express couriers were at once dispatched to the Sultan with the intelligence.

In the meantime preparations are being hurried forward by the local authorities for worthily receiving His Imperial Majesty, and no effort will be spared to make the visit a success.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 67.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 45.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 25, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 170, of the 9th September, 1904, I have the honour to report that the first year's interest on the French Loan was paid off early this month, the 60 per cent. of the customs receipts collected up to that time by the agents of the bondholders having been sufficient to cover the amount due The French agents will continue at their posts at the various custom-houses, but will not receive any money until the 1st of July, when 60 per cent. of the receipts will again be paid to them daily.

I understand that next year's receipts are not likely to be so satisfactory, as the drought in the southern districts must unfavourably affect the customs receipts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 68.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 46.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 26, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 44 of yesterday, I have the honour to report that the German Chargé d'Affaires received letters from Fez last night by special courier informing him that the Sultan is sending his great uncle, Mulai Abdelmalek, brother of Sultan Sidi Mahommed, to Tangier to welcome the German Emperor.

Mulai Abdelmalek will, I understand, be accompanied by Sid Ahmed Ben-el-Muaz, Chief Secretary to the Grand Vizier, Sid Dris-el-Oukily, Chief Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Kaïd Bushta Ben-el-Felali, Assistant Chamberlain. His Highness will also pick up on the way, and bring with him, the troops which had been sent to restore order in this district, and are now encamped about 25 miles from here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 69.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 47.)
My Lord, *Tangier, March* 26, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 38 of the 19th instant, I have the honour to report that the French Chargé d'Affaires informs me that so far as he is aware no definite reply has yet been made to the various proposals put forward by M. Saint René Taillandier. Count de Chérisey states that information, similar to that referred to in my above-mentioned despatch, had reached him, but that he has no confirmation of it from the Mission.

In regard to the report that the Sultan has proposed to employ Egyptian instead of Algerian non-commissioned officers in the army, it would appear, from what Count de Chérisey tells me, that no proposal to that effect has actually been formally made to the French Minister, though that was what the Council of Notables desired.

The Notables had also wished the Sultan to raise the question of the French occupation of the Tuat Oases, and the advance of the Algerian frontier south of Figuig, but the Viziers were opposed to this, a long and heated discussion taking place on the subject.

The Viziers, it seems, mentioned the various objections and obstructive proposals of the Notables to M. Saint-René Taillandier, but he declined to discuss them, saying it was for the Viziers to deal with them, but adding that if the Moorish Government allowed itself to be guided by the reactionary members of the Council and rejected the proposals, they must he prepared for very serious consequences.

In regard to the proposals for the organization of the army, the French Vice-Consul at Fez told Mr. Vice-Consul Macleod that it had been suggested to appoint one French officer and two Algerian non-commissioned officers for each 100 men; the cavalry was, however, not to be interfered with at present.

He also stated that M. Saint-René had suggested the employment of Frenchmen to take charge of the custom-house stores at the various ports, and the introduction of stringent regulations regarding ships' manifests, &c.

I understand that there is no question of substituting French for Spanish currency, as is feared in some quarters; it is hoped, however, that the proposed financial arrangements will raise the value of the existing Moorish currency, which will in that case, doubtless, gradually displace the Spanish coin now current in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 70.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 81.)
My Lord, *Berlin, March* 29, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 74 of the 23rd instant, I have the honour to report that the question of Germany's position with regard to Morocco, continues to form the subject of innumerable articles in the German press. All the papers adopt practically the same line—that the Emperor's cruise is one for health and pleasure, and that there is no reason why he should miss the pleasure of a visit to Tangier, but that, at the same time, his visit can do nothing but good in reminding the Moors of the existence of Germany.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a translation of an article in the semi-official "North German Gazette" on this subject, and précis of articles in the "Cologne Gazette," the "Post," and the "Vorwärts."*

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 71.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 83.)
My Lord, *Berlin, March* 30, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 81 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to report that, during the general debate on the third reading of the Budget in the Reichstag yesterday, the Emperor's visit to Tangier and the Moroccan question were touched upon by several speakers, and I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a translation of that portion of the Imperial Chancellor's speech which referred to this topic.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

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* Not printed.

Inclosure in No. 71.

Extract from Count Bülow's Speech in the Reichstag on March 29, 1905.

(Translation.)
Gentlemen,

HERR BEBEL at the beginning of his remarks touched upon the approaching visit of His Majesty the Emperor in connection with the Morocco question. To-day I still do not consider it opportune to make a thorough and detailed statement on the Morocco question. But as the question has been raised I have no hesitation in saying that I entirely agree with the remarks on this point of the last speaker, Herr von Kardorff [who said that Germany desired no territorial or political advantages in Morocco, but insisted on the safeguarding of her commercial interests]. His Majesty the Emperor declared to His Majesty the King of Spain exactly a year ago that Germany sought no territorial advantages in Morocco. After this clear declaration it is useless to attach to His Majesty's visit to Tangier any selfish intentions aimed against the integrity or the independence of Morocco. None, therefore, who have themselves no aggressive objects can find a justifiable reason for alarm in this visit.

Independently, however, of this visit, and independently of the territorial question, there is the question whether we have got to protect German commercial interests in Morocco. That we certainly have. In Morocco, as in China, we have important interest in the maintenance of the open door, *i.e.*, the equal treatment of all nations doing business there. Prince Bismarck once said that one cannot take it ill of any State if it enters into defence of provable interests. One can only take it ill of a State which—as Prince Bismarck expressed it—meddles in an affair out of malice without any provable interests. That is not our case. The German commercial interests in Morocco are, as is well known, very considerable, and it is our duty to see that they continue to receive equal consideration with those of all other Powers.

Now Herr Bebel declared that our policy towards Morocco has changed. I must first draw Herr Bebel's attention to the fact that the language and attitude of the diplomatist and the politician is directed in accordance with circumstances. I choose according to my own judgment the moment which I consider suitable for the protection of our interests. But in this case there has been no change in the tendency of German policy. He who is looking for a "fait nouveau" will not find it in the German policy. But in so far as attempts are being made to alter the legal status of Morocco or to control the open door in connection with the commercial development of the country, we must also take greater care than before that our commercial interests in Morocco remain unendangered. We are therefore now going to put ourselves into communication with the Sultan of Morocco.

No. 72.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No 17.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, March* 31, 1905.

I WAS this afternoon informed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that he had just been requested by the German Ambassador to issue a statement that a strict observance of the principle of the open door and a maintenance of the *status quo* in Morocco was desired by Spain. M. de Radowitz had said that a bad impression had been made in Berlin by the Foreign Minister's expressions as to the unofficial character of Spanish demonstrations in Tangier; and that satisfaction would be felt if the above statement were issued.

I told the Foreign Minister that I sincerely hoped no such statement would be issued; it would be the cause of still further misunderstandings, and was unnecessary. In my opinion, nothing should be done by which the French might be in any way embarrassed in a task which had received the consent and goodwill of Spain, as well as of Great Britain.

M. de Villaurrutia said that no statement would be issued. The Spanish Ambassador in Berlin would receive instructions to point out that the Foreign Minister had merely denied the accuracy of a telegram in the "Standard" (see my No. 16, Telegraphic, of the 28th March), and that to go beyond that denial was, in his opinion, unnecessary.

He said that the German Ambassador was rather dictatorial and excited.

No. 73.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 1.)

(No. 26. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 1, 1905.

I HAVE been secretly informed by Kaïd Sir H. Maclean that the German Emperor told him, on the occasion of his presentation, that he did not acknowledge any agreement arrived at, that he had simply come in the character of one independent Sovereign visiting another independent Sovereign, and that he (Kaïd Maclean) could tell the Sultan so.

What passed between the Grand Uncle of the Sultan and the German Emperor has been kept absolutely secret. It would, however, appear, as far as I have been able to discover, that in his address to the German subjects here His Majesty gave expression to his gratification at the progress German commerce was making, and to the hope that soon it would become very important. His Majesty also touched upon the statement in the Reichstag, recently made by the Imperial Chancellor, saying that they need have no fear but that His Majesty and His Majesty's Government had fully made up their minds that Morocco should remain free politically and commercially, as it had hitherto been and as it was at the present moment, and that no partiuclar country should receive any special advantages.

No. 74.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 10.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April* 1, 1905.

I APPROVE the language used by you to Minister for Foreign Affairs, as reported in your telegram No. 17 of the 31st March.

Any announcement made by Spanish Government on the subject of attitude of France towards present political *status* of Morocco would at this conjunction lead to serious misapprehension. It was shown by discussions of last year between British, French, and Spanish Governments, that French Government did not in any way wish to interfere with open door for commerce or political *status*.

No. 75.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 3.)

(No. 18.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, April* 3, 1905.

GERMAN intervention in Morocco.

With reference to my telegram No. 17, Confidential, of the 31st March, I privately informed Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday of the substance of your Lordship's telegram No. 10, telling him that I had no instructions to communicate it. I did so in order to reinforce him, as I had doubts whether his Excellency might not yield to German pressure here with regard to declaration respecting Morocco.

M. Cambon will speak to M. de Villaurrutia in the same sense as I did. He has just returned from Paris, and is also the bearer of a message from French Minister for Foreign Affairs to M. de Villaurrutia thanking his Excellency for his action with regard to the Spanish demonstrations at Tangier in disclaiming all official participation in them.

I find that M. Cambon is also of the opinion that the necessity of adhering to their Agreements as to Morocco will have to be impressed on the Spanish Government.

No. 76*.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 3.)

(No. 28.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 3, 1905.

BARON VON MENTZINGEN, late German Minister here, has been succeeded by M. von Rosen.

No. 76.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 3.)

(No. 27.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 3, 1905.

ON landing and also at the German Legation the Kaiser made a speech to Mulai Abdelmalek of which the following is roughly the sense:—

His Majesty gave expression to his pleasure at a near relative of the Sultan coming to receive him, and asked that his thanks might be conveyed to the Sultan. He said he had visited the Sultan at Tangier as one perfectly independent Sovereign visiting another. The prosperity of the Moorish Empire was a matter of deep interest to him, and he hoped that it would remain independent under the Sultan and open to universal commerce, and that there would be neither monopolies nor exclusive advantages granted to any one. He was determined that German interests in Morocco should be safeguarded, and his wish was to arrive at an agreement with the Sultan in regard to the manner in which this could be arranged. His Majesty's earnest wish was that Morocco should be developed and become prosperous, but as regards the question of introducing reforms he thought it was necessary to exercise great caution, as the religious sentiments of the population must be duly taken into consideration in order to avoid disturbances in the country.

No. 77.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 3.)

(No. 29.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 3, 1905.

I WAS informed by the French Chargé d'Affaires, in a conversation respecting the probable effect that would be produced by the visit of the German Emperor here, that His Majesty had, when speaking to him, confined himself to stating his desire that the commercial interests of Germany should be safeguarded, but that in his speeches to the Moorish Ambassador, as well as to the German Colony, His Majesty had evidently gone further. The French Government would, he presumed, approach the German Government with a view to ascertaining what it was they really required from them, for M. Saint-René Taillandier would now be unable to gain the assent of the Sultan to any except quite unimportant proposals.

No. 78.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received Ayril* 4.)

(No. 54.)
My Lord, *Madrid, March* 31, 1905.

AT the weekly reception to-day of the Diplomatic Body, the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me that the German Ambassador, who had just left the room, had been impressing on him, in an excited manner, the bad impression which had been caused in Berlin by his denials of the information telegraphed by the Madrid correspondent of the "Standard" in regard to the Spanish Government having authorized their Legation at Tangier to organize demonstrations in honour of the visit of the German Emperor. M. de Radowitz had added that the Spanish Government should issue a Declaration affirming their desire to see the *status quo* and the "open door" in Morocco strictly maintained, and also in favour of a complete equality of international treatment being observed in that country.

I expressed to M. de Villaurrutia my sincere hope that he would not make a Declaration of such a nature. All he had done hitherto was to deny an inaccurate statement of a newspaper correspondent. This was a simple and natural proceeding. But it seemed to me quite unnecessary to spontaneously make a statement, which, in present circumstances, would certainly be misunderstood and cause further complications. Moreover, the "open door" was secured, in any case for thirty years, under the Convention, and a sudden official Declaration by the Spanish Government in the sense suggested by the German Ambassador appeared to me to be quite uncalled for. That such a Declaration would still further embarrass the French negotiations I had

little doubt, as the Moorish Government would consider that they had gained one more supporter. I held a strong personal opinion that any check to the French programme would be of benefit to nobody; it would merely encourage the reactionary and fanatical elements, already sufficiently active and strong; while a hearty support to the French policy could but be of eventual advantage to all who had relations with Morocco.

I pointed out to M. de Villaurrutia that both our countries had concluded Agreements with France in respect of Morocco, and it was but simple loyalty that we should do nothing which, directly or indirectly, might hamper the task which we had intrusted to her.

M. de Villaurrutia agreed with my observations, and said that he had no intention of issuing a Declaration such as had been suggested; that he would, through the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin, explain his *dementi* of the "Standard's" telegram. He said that he did not comprehend the vehemence of the German Ambassador, nor, indeed, the attitude of the German Government during the past fortnight. He felt sure some ulterior object was in view which had not yet been made public.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 79.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 30.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April 4, 1905.*

THE Foreign Representatives here have received a translation of a note which the German Chargé d'Affaires received from the Moorish Government, and officially communicated to them, in which the Sultan accedes to his application that German vessels be allowed the free right of the coasting trade on the Moorish coasts, just as the vessels of other foreign nations and of the Moors themselves, without any vessels receiving any preference over German vessels, for such a period of time as a foreign Power continues to have special interests in all the ports of the Moorish Empire—as, for example, the control of the Customs receipts. When special interests of this kind shall have ceased, the Sultan shall again have the right to let the equality of treatment continue or to give Moorish vessels preference.

No. 80.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 118.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 3, 1905.*

AT Friday's sitting of the Senate M. Decrais inquired whether, in view of the reception of the Anglo-French Agreement of the 8th instant by other Powers as far as regards the subject of Morocco, there was any ground for the tone of agitation with reference to that question adopted during the last few days by the German press.

M. Delcassé stated that there was nothing either in the condition of Moorish politics or in French action consequent on the Anglo-French or Franco-Spanish Agreements to account for the press agitation mentioned by M. Decrais. His Excellency then gave a summary of the state of affairs with regard to Morocco and French policy in that country, at the conclusion of which he expressed his belief that the future of French interests could be assured there without injuring those of others, or ignoring their rights.

I have the honour to inclose a report of the proceedings extracted from the "Journal Officiel."*

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

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* Not printed.

No. 81.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 5.)

(No. 15. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, April 5, 1905.*

MOROCCO. The Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day saw the German Ambassador, who returned yesterday to Paris, but the subject of Morocco was not mentioned by either.

I gather from M. Delcassé's conversation that, unless the German Government address them, the French Government will ignore the Emperor's speeches and will say nothing.

No. 82.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir E. Egerton.

(No. 53.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April 5, 1905.*

THE Italian Ambassador told me to-day, in strict confidence, that he had spoken to Count Metternich in regard to the recent visit of the German Emperor to Tangier, which seemed to him (Signor Pansa) to require some explanation. Count Metternich had said that since the conclusion of the Anglo-French Agreement a "fait nouveau" had arisen in regard to Morocco. The new fact was this. M. Saint-René Taillandier had announced to the Moorish Government that he spoke as the mouthpiece of all Europe. The Sultan had thereupon made inquiries at Berlin as to the correctness of M. Saint-René Taillandier's statement. The German Emperor's visit had been the rejoinder.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 83.

Question asked in the House of Commons, April 6, 1905.

Mr. Labouchere,—To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, (1) whether the Convention entered into by His Majesty's Government with the French Republic, dated the 8th April, 1904, was officially communicated to the German Government, and when; (2) whether, if so, any reply to the communication was received by His Majesty's Government, and, if so received, will he lay it upon the Table of the House; (3) whether any subsequent communications have passed between this Government and Germany in regard to the said Convention, and, if so, will he lay them upon the Table of the House; (4) whether Germany has any Treaty with Morocco securing to it any special commercial rights and privileges, and, if so, whether they are analogous to the rights and privileges secured to this country by the Convention of Commerce and Navigation concluded between this country and Morocco in 1856, and confirmed by the Convention between this country and France, dated the 8th April, 1904; and (5) whether the Sultan of Morocco still retains the right to enter into Treaties or Conventions granting commercial rights and privileges with countries which were not parties to the Convention of the 8th April, 1904.

Answer.

The declaration of the 8th April, 1904, between the United Kingdom and France was not officially communicated to the German Government, and there were no communications between His Majesty's Government and that of Germany in regard to it so far as it had reference to Morocco. The Sultan of Morocco was not a party to the Declaration, which was an independent arrangement between the British and French Governments having reference to their respective interests in that country. The Treaty between Germany and Morocco of 1890 is analogous to that of 1856 between this country and Morocco.

No. 84.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 6.)

(No. 31. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 6, 1905.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 29 of the 3rd instant, I have now received privately from the French Chargé d'Affaires a communication of what the German Emperor told him. His Majesty, after a reference to the disadvantages under which commerce is here placed, giving as an example the unsatisfactory condition of the lighter service, which involves considerable delay to shipping at the ports, said that he hoped that the nations of Europe would do what was incumbent on them to safeguard their commercial interests in this country.

Then after pausing His Majesty remarked, speaking more loudly and with deliberation, that as far as he was concerned, he was determined that he would see that the commercial interests of Germany were respected. His Imperial Majesty then bowed as a sign that the conversation was over, but Count de Chérisey added before retiring that this was in entire accordance with what the French Government wished.

No. 85.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 6.)

(No. 32.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 6, 1905.

I HAVE received a report from the British Vice-Consul at Fez to the effect that a statement had been made by the German Vice-Consul there that contracts had been signed by the Moorish Government with Germans for the reconstruction at Tangier of the old English Mole and for two steam launches and a dozen lighters. The German demand for the execution of the men who had killed Dr. Genthe at Fez has been withdrawn.

The German Government has also, according to another statement of the German Vice-Consul, inquired of the Moorish Government in a note respecting the position of Germany in this country in the light of the Agreement between England and France and France and Spain, and has received an answer "in favourable terms" from them.

No. 86.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 7.)

(No. 28.)
Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, April* 7, 1905.

M. TITTONI informs me that German Emperor denies that any official communication of French Agreements of last year respecting Morocco has been received by German Government.

No. 87.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 8.)

(No. 33.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, April* 8, 1905.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 28 of the 7th April respecting Morocco, German Emperor has been told by Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs that M. Delcassé had in March of last year informed German Ambassador in Paris of nature of Agreement.

No. 88*.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir M. Durand.

(No. 37.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April* 9, 1905.

IN view of your telegram No. 29 of the 8th instant, it might be well to point out to Mr. Taft that nothing in the Anglo-French Agreement is in any way inconsistent with the "open door" in Morocco. Article 4 of the Declaration respecting that country contains, on the contrary, a distinct statement that the two Governments intend to maintain the principle of commercial liberty.

No. 88.

Sir M. Durand to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 29.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Washington, April* 8, 1905.

AFFAIRS of Morocco. In conversation with the Secretary of War, Mr. Taft informed me that he had received a visit from the German Ambassador, who had delivered a message from the German Emperor. It was to the effect that, as Germany had not been consulted in regard to the arrangement between England and France respecting Morocco, she holds herself at liberty to consult her own interests, and is specially determined to insist upon the open door in regard to matters of trade.

Mr. Taft said that the United States' Government had neither given their opinion nor been asked to do so.

No. 89.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 49.)
Tangier, April 1, 1905.

My Lord,

THE programme for the visit of the German Emperor, as submitted to and approved by His Imperial Majesty, was arranged as follows:—

The Emperor would land at 7·30 A.M. and be received on the pier by the Sultan's great uncle Mulai Abdelmalek, on behalf of His Shereefian Majesty, when His Highness' suite and the other Moorish officials would be presented to His Imperial Majesty. The Corps Diplomatique would be on the pier in uniform, and the foreign Representatives would be presented to the Emperor after the Moorish officials; the leading members of the German Colony would next be presented, and then the Emperor and His Majesty's suite would ride through the main street of the town, and by a circuitous route to the "Kasbah," or official quarter, where the old Moorish Palace had been prepared for His Majesty. Here Moorish refreshments would probably be served, and after a short rest the Emperor would ride to the Marsham, a grassy plateau above the town, in order to witness "powder play" by Moorish cavalry. There had been erected on the Marsham the tent used by the Sultan for giving audience, which His Shereefian Majesty had sent down especially for the occasion, together with other handsome tents. The Emperor would then proceed by a different road to the German Legation, where the ladies of the Corps Diplomatique and principal residents were invited to meet His Majesty.

The main street of the town had been elaborately decorated, and all the roads along which the Emperor was to pass had been repaired, triumphal arches being put up by various communities, one of them having been erected by British subjects resident here. There were large crowds on the Marsham, where the bulk of the 450 cavalry, especially sent by the Sultan, were stationed; and in the outer market place, on which is situated the German Legation, there were great numbers of country people who had come in for the occasion to "play powder" in honour of the Emperor.

The Moorish officials, Corps Diplomatique, &c., were on the pier at 7·30 A.M. as arranged, but the German steamer "Hamburg" conveying His Imperial Majesty, and the cruiser "Friedrich Karl" acting as escort, did not anchor till about two hours later.

On their approach the German Chargé d'Affaires, M. von Kühlmann, boarded the "Hamburg" and submitted to the Emperor a telegraphic report of the speech made by the Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag, as well as other papers. After the salutes had been given by the French cruisers, the town batteries, and the German cruiser, a launch put off from the "Hamburg" and landed the Emperor's Aide-de-camp, Count von Tattenbach, German Minister at Lisbon (who was formerly German Minister here) and the German Chargé d'Affaires.

They stated that unless the strong east wind should drop the Emperor would not land, but would proceed to Gibraltar where he was due in the afternoon, but that His Imperial Majesty might possibly visit Tangier on leaving Gibraltar. The Corps Diplomatique accordingly left.

Shortly before mid-day the wind moderated, and the firing of salutes announced that the Emperor was landing. No notice having been received by the foreign

Representatives they did not again attend upon the pier, but Mulai Abdelmalek and the Moorish officials were still there to receive His Imperial Majesty. The time available being so short the programme had to be modified, the Emperor riding straight to the German Legation, accompanied by Mulai Abdelmalek and the Moorish officials, as well as by a numerous staff.

At the Legation the Emperor received the foreign Representatives, holding a short conversation with each of them. The ladies were also presented. His Majesty graciously spoke to me for some little time, but merely on general subjects. So far as I am aware the Emperor did not touch on any political subject connected with Morocco in talking to any of the Representatives except to the French Chargé d'Affaires. Count de Chérisey did not mention to me what the Emperor said, merely saying that His Majesty had referred to German commercial interests in this country.

On arrival at the Legation the Moorish officials were shown into a separate room, where the Emperor subsequently went to see them. I am informed that Mulai Abdelmalek then delivered to His Imperial Majesty a letter from the Sultan, and also a copy and translation of His Highness' speech to him. Nothing, however, has yet transpired as to the contents of these documents, nor as to the purport of the Emperor's reply.

Sid-el-Mehedi-el-Menebhi had been invited to the German Legation, as he had been to Berlin as Special Ambassador from the Sultan in 1901 and held a German decoration. When the Emperor received Sid-el-Menebhi, Kaïd Sir H. Maclean acted as interpreter at His Majesty's request. He informs me that the conversation was short and of no interest.

The German residents were also received by His Imperial Majesty, who bestowed decorations upon ten of their number, and after speaking to several of them separately made a short speech thanking them for their address of welcome, and expressing satisfaction at the constant growth of German commerce in this country, and the desire that it should attain large proportions. His Majesty informed them that he had come in person to Tangier in order to facilitate their commerce and to give proof of the interest His Majesty took in the Morocco question. His Majesty was determined that Morocco should continue to be independent, and that the open door be maintained as it was at present and had been in the past, and His Majesty would not admit that any other nation should hold a more-favoured position, and he was in direct communication on the subject with the Sultan through the German Consul at Fez. No official version of the speech has been published, but, on collating the various reports given by those who were present, the foregoing is probably a fairly accurate summary of what His Majesty said.

The Emperor also received the ladies of the German Colony, a deputation from the Jewish residents at Tangier, and a few other persons, including the French officer in charge of the Tangier troops.

After viewing some "powder play" on the outer market from a window of the rooms of the German Chargé d'Affaires in the Legation grounds, His Imperial Majesty mounted his horse at about 1 P.M. and proceeded direct to the pier, accompanied by Mulai Abdelmalek and other Moorish officials. On reaching the end of the pier, Mulai Abdelmalek handed to the Emperor, on behalf of the Sultan, a handsome gold dagger of Moorish manufacture, and also several pieces of valuable jewellery, which His Shereefian Majesty had sent for the Empress.

The Emperor then embarked and proceeded later for Gibraltar, taking with him M. von Kühlmann, who returned to Tangier this morning with Count von Tattenbach, who is on his way back to Lisbon.

The Moors of all classes seem greatly pleased with the visit, notwithstanding that the programme was so much curtailed, and that the Emperor did not go either to the Palace or the tent which had been prepared for His Majesty by the Moorish Government, but merely to the German Legation.

The large crowd, including a considerable number of tribesmen from districts which for some time past have been practically in revolt, were remarkably good-humoured and well-behaved, and there appears to have been no accident or regrettable incident, though there was naturally some disappointment that His Majesty did not pass by the roads where some triumphal arches had been erected and houses decorated, and where crowds were collected to greet His Majesty. The Emperor had a good reception from the European residents as well as from the Mahommedan and Jewish population, and appeared much pleased thereat when riding down to the pier to embark.

An attempt was made by the Spanish Colony to make a demonstration of an anti-French character. I beg leave to inclose translation of a large placard, of which a

number were printed, calling upon Spaniards to acclaim the German Emperor as symbolizing the only policy favourable to the general interests. It had been arranged to post this placard in all the streets of the town, but the Spanish Minister was able to prevent this being done. As, however, the Emperor passed the triumphal arch erected in the main street by the Spanish Colony, small slips of paper in the Spanish national colours, yellow and red, were showered on His Majesty, each slip bearing the words "Long live Spain! Long live the Emperor William II! Long live the independence of Morocco!" The incident, however, did not attract much notice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

P.S.—On his return from Gibraltar, M. von Kühlmann called on Colonel Ritchie, a leading member of the British Colony, and thanked him, by order of the Emperor, for the reception the British subjects had prepared for His Majesty, and expressed His Majesty's regret that he had not been able to pass the arch they had erected.

H. E. W.

Inclosure in No. 89.

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

Spaniards,

THE Emperor William II of Germany is about to be our guest for a few hours. You who constitute the great majority of the European population of Tangier will have to contribute more than anybody to the worthy reception of the Monarch, who is about to arrive in this country with the object of recording the fact that the Treaties which guarantee the integrity of the Moorish Empire, the security of all the European Colonies of Morocco, equality of rights, juridical autonomy, individual liberty, and the enjoyment of equal commercial and customs advantages are still in vigour.

On this solemn occasion let there be amongst us, subjects or protégés, all who live under the ægis of Spain, no differences either of class or religion, no divergencies, either of a political or of a social nature.

Let us be Spaniards.

Let us show that in this country, side by side with the native element, no European element is greater than the Spanish. Let us have the honour of demonstrating before our own people and foreigners our national spirit, our courtesy, and our gratitude.

Spaniards,—Let the next 31st March be a gala day for you. Cease from work, shut your shops, decorate your houses, acclaim him who at this moment symbolizes the only policy suitable to the interests of all, and let your sentiments, your aspirations, and your hopes be embodied in the cries—

Long live Spain!

Long live the Emperor William II!

Long live the independence of Morocco!

(The Commission.)

Tangier, March 1905.

No. 90.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 50. Secret.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April* 1, 1905.

KAÏD Sir H. Maclean informs me that as the German Emperor was riding up the main street from the pier His Majesty called him to his side on two occasions, shaking hands with him, and expressing pleasure at seeing him so well.

On arriving at the German Legation the Emperor again sent for Kaïd Sir H. Maclean, and said that he had been delighted to hear that he had been appointed to command the troops on that occasion, and was very pleased with all the arrangements

that had been made. His Imperial Majesty observed, "I do not acknowledge any Agreement that may have been entered into regarding Morocco. I came here as one Sovereign paying a visit to another perfectly independent Sovereign. You can tell the Sultan this."

Sir H. Maclean tells me that the Emperor laid special stress on the words "perfectly independent."

On arriving at the pier to re-embark the Emperor again shook hands with Kaïd Sir H. Maclean, and thanked him warmly for the arrangements he had made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

P.S.—Kaïd Sir H. Maclean begged me to regard the information he had given me as secret.

H. E. W.

No. 91.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 51. Confidential.)
Tangier, April 2, 1905.

My Lord,

THERE can, I think, be no doubt that the news of the approaching visit of the German Emperor to Tangier brought the negotiation of the proposals made by the French Minister to a standstill. Writing on the 21st ultimo, just before the receipt of the news, Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod reported that he had just had a conversation with the French Minister, who said that he thought progress was being made, though slow, and against much opposition, which would have to be overcome with patience. He was satisfied that a good effect had been produced by his putting the situation clearly before the Notables, in a light which was new to them, exposing the misconduct of the officials and the general misgovernment.

M. Saint-René Taillandier had also frankly admitted that the proposals had been made in the interests of France, in the first instance, and of the Powers associated with France, as the present state of this country could not be tolerated, but explained that the proposals were also in the interests of Morocco, and that, could any proposal be shown to be prejudicial to those interests, he would be prepared to examine the matter and amend the proposal if necessary. M. Saint-René Taillandier added that his policy was to be absolutely firm with the Moorish Government, but at the same time to be careful not to arouse the suspicions or fears of the people.

Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod appeared at that date to share the French Minister's hopeful view of the situation; but, writing a few days later, he reports that the opposition to the French proposals was stiffening, and markedly so since the receipt of the news of the German Emperor's impending visit, to which much political importance was attached. The English doctor at the Court also informed me that the news had caused a sensation at Fez, and that the Sultan and all the Viziers with whom he had spoken had expressed their delight, and attributed great importance to the event. He was convinced that the Government would await the results of the visit before replying to the French proposals.

In the meantime, Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod has forwarded to me a copy of the Memorandum drawn up by the Fez Notables in reference to the proposals, and delivered to the Viziers. The Memorandum is involved, and does not enter into any criticism of the individual proposals, but merely recommends their rejection as a whole as not acceptable to the people, and likely to give rise to disturbances.

The opposition of the large majority of the Notables was anticipated by the French Minister. He hoped, by firmness and patience, to induce the Sultan and his Viziers to overcome it. The visit of the German Emperor, and the language held by His Majesty is, however, a new factor which has entirely altered the situation. There appears to be a tendency at the French Legation to minimize its importance, but it will, I fear, be found that, without a previous understanding with the German Government, they will not be able by peaceful means to overcome the opposition which the Sultan will now feel himself to be in a position to offer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 92.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 52. Confidential.)
Tangier, April 2, 1905.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 42 of the 24th ultimo, I understand that Baron von Mentzingen's resignation was in consequence of his Government's disapproval of his attitude in regard to the position of France in this country at the time of the capture of Messrs. Perdicaris and Varley last year, when Baron von Mentzingen informed the French Minister that it was the duty of France, under the Anglo-French Agreement, to maintain order in this country, and urged that steps be taken by them to insure the security of lives and property.

I am informed that M. von Rosen has now been appointed German Minister in succession to Baron von Mentzingen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 93.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 53.)
Tangier, April 2, 1905.

My Lord,

IN continuation of my despatch No. 49 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to report that when the German Emperor landed on the pier he was warmly greeted by Mulai Abdelmalek, who saluted him in the Sultan's name, and stated that His Shereefian Majesty's joy at receiving the visit was not only on His Majesty's own account, but also on that of his subjects.

The Emperor replied that it gave him great pleasure and satisfaction to salute a near relative of the Sultan, and he requested him to convey to the Sultan his thanks for having sent the special Embassy to greet him, and also for the magnificent preparations made for his reception. His Imperial Majesty added that he was deeply interested in the welfare and prosperity of the Moorish Empire. It was to the Sultan, as an independent Sovereign, that he was paying a visit, and he trusted that, under His Shereefian Majesty's sovereignty, Morocco would remain free and open to the peaceful competition of all nations without monopolies or exclusion.

When later on, at the German Legation, Mulai Abdelmalek handed to the Emperor the Sultan's letter, his Highness said: "His Shereefian Majesty, recalling the friendship which has always existed between His Majesty's illustrious ancestors and the German Government, is animated by the desire to strengthen and extend that friendship by all means as far as possible. I fulfil the orders I have received in conveying to your Majesty the message with which I have been charged by the Sultan. His Shereefian Majesty's friendship with your Imperial Majesty is already well known to all. I beg your Majesty to receive this message with gracious clemency in accordance with the bonds of strong friendship."

The Emperor, in reply, thanked Mulai Abdelmalek more especially for the expressions of sincere friendship contained in the message. He entirely concurred in the Sultan's sentiments. It proved emphatically the omnipotence of the divine wisdom which, as the Ambassador knew, directed the fate of nations. He personally most sincerely wished the development and the prosperity of the Moorish Empire, as much for the good of His Shereefian Majesty's own subjects as for that of the nations of Europe trading in this country, as he hoped, on a footing of perfect equality.

His Imperial Majesty added that he had visited Tangier resolved to do all that lay in his power to efficiently safeguard German interests in Morocco. He considered the Sultan an absolutely independent Sovereign, and it was with His Majesty that he desired to come to an understanding as to a means of safeguarding those interests.

In regard to the reforms the Sultan intended to introduce, the Emperor expressed the opinion that His Shereefian Majesty should proceed with great caution and with due regard to the religious sentiments of the people, in order to avoid the disturbance of the public peace.

The Emperor handed the Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown of Prussia to

Mulai Abdelmalek, and bestowed the Order of the Red Eagle of the Second Class on the Secretaries.

I am informed that the foregoing account of the speeches exchanged between Mulai Abdelmalek and the German Emperor was furnished to a journalist by the German Chargé d'Affaires.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 94.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 54.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April* 4, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a translation, officially communicated to the Corps Diplomatique by the German Chargé d'Affaires, of a letter addressed to him by the Vizier for Foreign Affairs, according to German vessels the right to engage in free coasting trade in Morocco on the same terms as Moorish vessels or the vessels of any other nation, so long as any foreign Power shall have any special interests in all the Moorish ports, such as the control of the receipts at the custom-houses, &c.

The German Chargé d'Affaires appears to have feared that some arrangement might at some future time be come to by France with the Sultan to limit the rights of vessels to engage in the coasting trade, and desired to protect German shipping from the danger of being excluded, in the same manner as British shipping is protected under Article II of the Anglo-French Declaration of last year.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT. E. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 94.

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Morocco, to Herr Kühlmann.

(Traduction.)
(Saluts d'usage.)

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer que j'ai soumis à la connaissance de Sa Majesté Chérifienne la demande formulée par vous et tendant à ce que le droit de libre cabotage d'un port Marocain à un autre soit accordé aux bateaux à vapeur et voiliers Allemands à l'instar des bateaux et voiliers des autres Puissances étrangères et de ceux de l'Empire Marocain, sans préférer les bateaux de qui que ce soit à ceux de l'Allemagne, et cela tant qu'une Puissance étrangère aura des intérêts spéciaux dans tous les ports Marocains, comme le contrôle des recettes de la douane, &c. Sa Majesté Chérifienne m'a ordonné de vous répondre qu'elle a daigné accorder votre demande. Mais aussitôt que les intérêts spéciaux d'une Puissance étrangère dans tous les ports auront cessé, le Maghzen se réserve le droit de maintenir cette égalité de droits ou d'accorder aux bateaux de ses sujets Marocains les préférences qui bonnes lui sembleront.

(Saluts.)

No. 95.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 90.)
My Lord, *Berlin, April* 6, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 81 of the 29th ultimo, I have the honour to report that the comments in the German press on the Moroccan question have continued during the past week on much the same lines.

The "National Zeitung" of the 2nd instant published a long article comparing and contrasting the Emperor's visit to Tangier with the only previous visits of a German Emperor to Africa—those of Charles V to Tunis, and Algiers in 1535 and 1541. The latter went to Africa as a conqueror and a proselytizer by force; whereas William II has now gone there in a spirit of friendship to the Moors, with the sole object of protecting and furthering German commerce. The Emperor's position and power is such that a visit

from him is equal to a naval demonstration, the Sultan's sovereignty is strengthened as against both foreign aggressors and native rebels, and the European Colonies feel they have no more to fear from brigands. The "National Zeitung" is willing to admit that France, as Morocco's only land neighbour, suffers most from the disorders, and has the greatest interest in suppressing them, and thinks that French policy is directed by that fact as well as by the desir of emulating British success in Egypt But the position is by no means the same, when England suppressed Arabi and took over the Government of Egypt, she alone did the work, though she had invited France to join her, and she had therefore the right as well as the power to remain there; in Morocco, the Sultan is still master, and though no doubt brigandage exists to a great extent, it is no worse than it has been before. But, in any case, Germany has no idea of being passed over, she means to protect her interests, and the only proper way to do so is to communicate direct with the Sultan who is an independent Sovereign.

The "Kreuz Zeitung" of the 5th instant gives a résumé of the incident, quoting the Emperor's speeches, and those of Count Bülow and M. Delcassé, and declaring that while the German statesman gave a clear and distinct statement of Germany's position and aims the French Minister, who had the difficult task of defending a lost position, left everything vague and uncertain. The "Kreuz Zeitung" also quotes Spanish papers approving and congratulating themselves on German action, and French opposition papers in their bitter attacks on M. Delcassé. In fact, a noticeable trait in all the German papers is the pleasure and admiration with which they quote the French Opposition press, and the fury with which they attack M. Delcassé personally, and the "Temps" as his special organ.

The "Cologne Gazette," in two articles in its issues of the 4th and 5th instant, insists on the absurdity of the perpetual mention in the French press, and by M. Delcassé himself, of the "Mediterranean Powers," as if they alone were interested in Morocco. This was sufficiently proved not to be the case by the Madrid Conference of 1880, at which, besides Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, and Denmark were represented, though they most certainly cannot be looked on as in any sense Mediterranean Powers. The rights of all nations which were shown to exist by that Conference, and which nobody then disputed, cannot fall to the ground in consequence of agreements between two of them. Admitting that Germany's commercial interests in Morocco are not yet very extensive [N.B.—This is a very unusual admission on the part of a German journalist], the future exploitability of the country is so enormous that Germany cannot give up her claim to a share in that future prosperity. According to a French report, the Sultan has refused the demands of the French Minister, and refused them on the grounds that the affairs of Morocco must be regulated, not by France alone, but by a concert of the Powers. Germany's objects in Morocco are so open and innocent that she would willingly accept the idea of an international settlement—she is not afraid of the light, though others may be!

I have the honour to inclose translations of two communiqués in the "North German Gazette" of the 1st instant and of last night, which have been quoted with approval by all the other papers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Inclosure in No. 95.

Extract from "North German Gazette" of April 1, 1905.

(Translation.)

IN the sitting of the French Senate on Friday, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Delcassé, gave, in answer to a question which had been addressed to him on the Moroccan question, a declaration which showed from what point of view he had been guided in his proceedings in Morocco. We have only the following remarks to make with reference to M. Delcassé's speech:—

The French Minister for Foreign Affairs did not refer to the easily refutable statements of French newspapers with regard to an alleged exchange of communications or even negotiations between Germany and France on the subject of Morocco—statements which have played a big part in the press arguments of the last week. He also did not indicate by a single word that he would expect or give within a measurable space of time occasion for such negotiations. The present diplomatic position is that both Powers—Germany and France—are negotiating in Fez on the subject of their Moroccan

interests with the Government of a State which is independent by international law . . . . The Imperial Chancellor, Count von Bülow, in his first speech last Wednesday, clearly declared the standpoint from which German policy judges the Moroccan question—viz., that Germany seeks no sort of territorial advantages in Morocco, and has no intentions aimed against the integrity or independence of Morocco, but is, on the other hand, determined to defend the considerable German commercial interests, and that she has, therefore, to insure those interests, set herself in communication with the Sultan of Morocco.

Paragraph in "North German Gazette" of April 5, 1905.

(Translation.)

The "Temps," in a fresh article on the Moroccan question, treats the speeches of the German Emperor at Tangier as a *fait nouveau*, and gets quite excited over the unfriendly attitude of German policy. We refuse to reply in the same tone, and content ourselves with the following statement:—

The speech of His Majesty the Emperor is covered by the declaration made by the Imperial Chancellor, Count von Bülow, in the Reichstag on the 29th March. Germany is seeking for the commercial equal treatment of all countries represented in Morocco according to the spirit of the International Convention concluded in Madrid in 1880. France, on the contrary, claims, according to the words of M. Delcassé, a "singular" position, the compatibility of which, with the principle of the open door, is open to doubt. No explanation has as yet been given of the contradiction which exists between the recognition of the sovereignty of the Sultan and the independence of Morocco on the one hand, and the claim to control the interior administration of the land on the other.

The "Temps" has also omitted to bring the part ascribed by itself to French policy at Fez of a mandatory of Europe into harmony with the fact that Germany has given no sort of mandate.

No. 96.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 91. Confidential.)

Berlin, April 6, 1905.

My Lord,

ON the 4th instant I called upon Dr. von Mühlberg, who had just taken charge of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs during Baron von Richthofen's absence on leave. His Excellency began the conversation by expressing regret that the English press had again adopted a hostile tone towards Germany. I replied that I also regretted that this should be the case, but was by no means astonished at it; in fact, when I read the first article in the "North German Gazette" and Count Bülow's speech on the subject of Morocco, I felt convinced that the attitude adopted by Germany would be strongly criticized in England. If his Excellency would allow me to speak frankly, I would say that I was unable to understand the line adopted by Germany, unless she desired, which I was convinced was not the case, to bring about a war with France.

Dr. von Mühlberg repudiated the idea of any desire on the part of Germany to go to war, but when the French Minister in Morocco pretended that he had a European mandate, it was time for Germany to take steps to protect her interests. I replied that I was not aware that M. Saint-René Taillandier had put forward such a pretension; but if he had, it appeared to me that application to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Paris would probably have resulted in satisfactory explanations. I had always understood that if a foreign diplomatist committed an indiscretion, the usual course was for the Government which felt itself aggrieved to apply to the Government which the diplomatist represented.

Dr. von Mühlberg said that it was not only the statement which M. Saint-René Taillandier had made to the Sultan of Morocco, that he spoke in the name of Europe, to which the German Government took exception. The French press, and even the "Temps" itself, had been writing as if Morocco were a possession, and that other Powers had no right to have a voice in the settlement of Moorish affairs. This was a pretension which Germany could not admit. She was one of the signatories of the Madrid Convention of 1880, and as such had an international right to have a voice in Moorish affairs. To this I replied that, if I remembered right, the Convention of 1880 was

concluded for the purpose of regulating the question of protection in Morocco, and limited to a certain degree the sovereign rights of the Sultan over his own subjects. An allusion to this Convention did not appear to me to be very happy on the part of those who now expressed their intention of treating the Sultan of Morocco as an independent Sovereign.

Dr. von Mühlberg went on to say that Germany did not claim any more than her due. She wanted neither territorial acquisition nor exceptional treatment for herself, but she had to protect her commercial interests and could not admit that any one Power had the right to arrogate to herself the settlement of Moorish affairs without consulting the others. If, therefore, the Sultan should wish to submit the question of Moorish reforms to a Conference of the European Powers, Germany would be prepared to take part in such a Conference if the other Powers agreed to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 97.

Sir F. Plunkett to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 90. Confidential.)

Vienna, April 7, 1905.

My Lord,

MY French colleague told me yesterday that he had sounded Count Goluchowski in regard to the view taken by this Government of the visit of the German Emperor to Tangier. He said his Excellency had replied that the interests of Austria-Hungary in Morocco were small, and that all she asked for was the "open door" for her subjects and trade there.

The Marquis de Reverseaux added that he was under the impression that just at present Count Goluchowski was not pleased with Germany or inclined to give her much support, as he was annoyed with the encouragement given by the German Government to the Sultan in thwarting the efforts of Austria-Hungary and Russia for reform in the Balkans.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

No. 98.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 123.)

Paris, April 8, 1905.

My Lord,

THERE were to have been four interpellations in the Chamber yesterday on the situation in Morocco, but, on the opening of the sitting, M. Delcassé made a statement on the policy of the Government.

His Excellency, referring to his speech in the Senate, forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch No. 118 of the 3rd instant, said that the Government desired, by strengthening the authority of the Sultan, to gradually restore order, and that he had nothing further to add for the present.

M. Jaurès stated that he considered that to dispel difficulties it was not sufficient to ignore them, and insisted on the question being discussed at length at an early date.

I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of the debate extracted from to-day's "Journal Officiel." *

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

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* Not printed.

No. 99.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 34.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 10, 1905.

PENDING the arrival here of M. von Rosen, the German Minister at Lisbon, Count von Tattenbach, has been nominated Minister on special Mission, and will, I understand, in a short time start for Fez.

No. 100.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 10.)

(No. 35.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 10, 1905.

THE Sultan has asked, according to information I have received from a reliable source, the German Emperor to allow him some German officers for the purpose of instructing the officers of the Moorish army. The German Emperor in his reply expressed his willingness to afford assistance to the Sultan, but that this matter had better be held over for discussion on the occasion of the visit of the German Minister to the Court.

No. 101.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 11.)

(No. 57. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Rome, April* 8, 1905.

I SAW M. Tittoni yesterday, very tired after the long day and night spent in the King's visit to Naples to meet the German Emperor.

The interview was agreeable, and, owing to the precautions taken, no political speeches were made.

M. Tittoni, it appears, told His Imperial Majesty that the French Ambassador had assured him that, on the 23rd March of last year, M. Delcassé had informed Prince Radolin fully of the nature of the Agreement come to between England and France respecting Morocco and other countries, and had subsequently repeated the information.

The German Emperor maintained that his Government was not officially informed.

The difference seems to hang on a quibble—a "querelle d'Allemand"—to show His Imperial Majesty's displeasure with M. Delcassé.

I have reason to think that at the Consulta here they are relieved that the Imperial visit passed off so satisfactorily.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

No. 102.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 11.)

(No. 36.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 11, 1905.

THE discussions between the French Minister and the Sultan have now begun, the Council of Notables having been dismissed.

(Secret.)

I am privately informed by the French Chargé d'Affaires that the Moorish Government's attitude had caused considerable annoyance to M. Saint-René Taillandier, who had in consequence been very energetic in his language; but instructions have been sent him to be more moderate in the future.

F.O. 413/37 PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

No. 105*.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 12.)

(Private and Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, April* 12, 1905.

FRENCH Ambassador asked Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day whether Conference of the Powers respecting Morocco and other questions had been suggested by German Emperor.

Minister for Foreign Affairs hesitated to reply, so that French Ambassador stated in strong terms that Italian Government could entertain no such proposal any more than could his own Government, in view of previous assurances of Italy to France.

I do not personally suspect the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and consider French suspicions exaggerated, if not entirely groundless.

No. 103.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 11.)

(No. 19.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, April* 11, 1905.

MOROCCO and Germany.

Proposed Conference.

M. de Villaurrutia being unwell, I saw to-day the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and learnt that yesterday the German Ambassador, acting under instructions from his Government, had said that, before proceeding to propose an International Conference on Morocco with a view to securing liberty of commerce and open door, the German Government desired to make sure that the Spanish Government would adhere to the proposal, and that he had consequently received instructions to obtain the consent of the Spanish Government to such a Conference.

The Under-Secretary replied that he would apply to the Foreign Minister for instructions, and could, of course, express no opinion himself. He was then sent by Foreign Minister to inform French Ambassador and myself of what had passed.

After informing the Under-Secretary that I would communicate with your Lordship, I pointed out, as my personal opinion, that there was no menace to liberty of commerce or the open door calling for a Conference, to which, moreover, there were evident objections.

I hear from French Ambassador that he replied to same effect, and that M. Delcassé has telegraphed, instructing him to inform Foreign Minister that French Government is confident that the reply of the Spanish Government to the proposal for a Conference will be unfavourable. French Ambassador will see the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day, and I trust I may be authorized to make a communication to him from your Lordship in similar terms.

No. 104.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 12.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April* 11, 1905.

MOROCCO. We entirely concur in the view expressed in your telegram No. 19 of to-day.

You are therefore authorized to make a similar communication to that of the French Ambassador.

No. 105.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 12.)

(No. 37.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 12, 1905.

INSTRUCTIONS have been received for Count von Tattenbach to start on a special mission to Fez, and he will leave Tangier as soon as he has been able to make the arrangements that may be necessary. The object of his mission is, he tells me, to express to the Sultan the thanks of the German Emperor for the reception given to him. He also informs me that he is not conducting any negotiations, as these will stand over for M. von Rosen; the fact, however, of his going up on a mission is not without political significance.

No. 106.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 196.)

Foreign Office, April 12, 1905.

Sir,

THE French Minister told me to-day that he had received from M. Delcassé a telegram to the following effect:—

"According to rumours which are in circulation Germany is thinking of proposing the assembly of an International Conference on Morocco, in accordance with the precedent of 1880. There can be no doubt that the present questions bear no analogy to the questions of protection which were under discussion at that period. On the other hand there can be no further Moorish question between ourselves, England, Spain, and Italy after the Agreements recently concluded. The position is the same as regards Russia. Please approach His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on this subject. You will take the opportunity of expressing to him our complete confidence that, in case such a proposal should eventually be made, it will meet from him the same negative reception as from ourselves."

M. Geoffray inquired whether I had any information upon the subject of the alleged German proposal. I told him that Sir Arthur Nicolson had informed me by telegram yesterday that he had learned from the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs at Madrid that the German Ambassador there had received instructions to ask the Spanish Government to consent to an International Conference, with a view to securing liberty of commerce and the open door in Morocco. The German Ambassador had been instructed to make sure that the Spanish Government would adhere to this proposal before proceeding further. I said that Sir Arthur Nicolson had also reported to me that the French Ambassador had been instructed to inform the Spanish Government that the French Government were confident that a negative reply would be given to the German proposal. I told M. Geoffray that, immediately on receipt of Sir Arthur Nicolson's telegram, I had instructed him to make to the Spanish Government a communication similar in effect to that of the French Government. We did not believe that liberty of commerce or the policy of the open door were in any way endangered by the Agreement which had been made as to Morocco between Great Britain and France, and we, therefore, saw no occasion for the proposed Conference.

I am, &c.

(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 107.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 13.)

(No. 127. Confidential.)

Paris, April 12, 1905.

My Lord,

I INFORMED M. Delcassé to-day of the communication made to His Majesty's Ambassador on behalf of the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject of the desire of the German Government that there should be an International Conference on Morocco, with the view of securing liberty of commerce and the "open door."

I told his Excellency that His Majesty's Government entirely agreed with the opinion expressed by Sir Arthur Nicolson against any such Conference, and that your Lordship had authorized him to reply to the inquiry of the Spanish Government to the same effect as the French Ambassador had been instructed to do, viz., that His Majesty's Government are confident that the Spanish Government will give a negative reply to the German proposal.

M. Delcassé requested me to thank your Lordship for the promptitude with which His Majesty's Government had instructed Sir A. Nicolson to act in the matter with his French colleague.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 108.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir E. Egerton.

(No. 57.)

Foreign Office, April 13, 1905.

Sir,

THE Italian Ambassador asked me to receive him this evening, and told me that he was extremely anxious to know whether I had anything to tell him about the proposal of the German Government for an International Conference as to Morocco. His Excellency had received a telegram from M. Tittoni, from which it appeared that the German Ambassador had called upon that Minister, and had told him, "in a confidential and preliminary manner," that the German Government contemplated proposing such a Conference to the Powers, and hoped to obtain the adhesion of the United States' Government. M. Tittoni had, Signor Pansa informed me, returned "a desultory and evasive reply."

I told his Excellency that we had heard of the proposal both from Sir E. Egerton and Sir Arthur Nicolson, and that the latter had been instructed to tell the Spanish Government that we were entirely opposed to the idea of a Conference, and that we did not consider that there was any danger to liberty of commerce or the policy of the open door owing to the Anglo-French Declaration respecting Morocco. I asked Signor Pansa whether it was to be expected that M. Tittoni would eventually pronounce himself more decidedly against the idea of a Conference. Signor Pansa's language upon this point was not very distinct. He observed that His Majesty's Government were in a very different position from that of the Italian Government, inasmuch as we were parties to the Declaration as to Morocco. It seemed to him that if France, Great Britain, and Spain all objected to a Conference, it could not possibly be held. I gathered that the Italian Government expected those three Powers to assume the entire responsibility of a refusal.

Signor Pansa remarked, at the close of our conversation, that he did not believe that the French Government could have ever, in an official sense, communicated the Agreement to the German Government. They had no doubt satisfied themselves that the German Government were aware of its purport, but that was a different matter. We, on the other hand, in obtaining the consent of the Powers to the Khedivial Decree, had found it necessary to consult them freely about the Egyptian side of the Agreement. The German Government were, therefore, probably annoyed because they had not been similarly consulted with regard to that part of the Agreement which had reference to Morocco.

I am, &c.

(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 109.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 38.)

(Telegraphic.) P.

Tangier, April 14, 1905.

IN a conversation I had with the German Minister with regard to the situation in this country, Count von Tattenbach said that France's action, when she ignored Germany and withheld communicating the Anglo-French Agreement to the German Government, had deeply offended that nation, and that the feeling among the public was excited. If it were true that Germany was without political interests here previously, a political question had now been brought into existence by this action on the part of France, and this political question was of greater importance than the commercial question. So far the commercial interests of Germany in Morocco are not large, but at some future date it is possible that they will become of importance, and the German Government will not fail to take steps for their protection. The above, Count von Tattenbach told me, merely expressed his personal opinion on the subject.

No. 110.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 14.)

(No. 21)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, April* 14, 1905.

MOROCCO and Germany.

Proposed Conference.

French Ambassador hears from the Minister for Foreign Affairs that pressure on Spain to obtain her consent to a Conference has been renewed, and that the German Ambassador has said that Germany does not stand alone in the position she has taken up. The Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that the undertakings given by Spain did not leave her free in the matter, but practically admitted that if France and England were willing, she would adhere to the German proposal, and that she was not opposed to the principle of a Conference.

I fear that the Minister for Foreign Affairs is not very firm, and allows insistence of German Ambassador to overawe him. I will try to reassure and strengthen him when I see him this afternoon.

No. 111.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 14.)

(No. 22.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, April* 14, 1905.

MOROCCO and Germany.

Proposed Conference. My telegram No. 21 of to-day.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs informs me that German Ambassador has impressed on him that the German Government were rendering M. Delcassé a service in suggesting a Conference, as they were convinced this was the only way out of the present difficulty.

I pointed out to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that no difficulty had arisen but such as had been created by Germany, and urged him to persist in his policy of maintaining that Spain was precluded from taking any step without previous understanding with France and England in consequence of her engagements to these Powers, and received his assurance to that effect.

He added that he had been told by Italian Ambassador that Italy had been sounded by Germany as to a Conference, but had delayed a reply till views of other Powers interested could be ascertained, and that he had been asked what views the Spanish Government held on the matter. He had answered that he personally considered a Conference most unnecessary and inopportune, but that in any case Spain could not agree to the proposal unless France and England equally consented.

No. 112.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir E. Egerton.

(No. 52.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April* 14, 1905.

I WAS informed by the Italian Ambassador yesterday that the Italian Government had been informed confidentially by the German Ambassador at Rome that a proposal to summon a Conference on Morocco was contemplated by the German Government, and that a "desultory and evasive" reply had been returned by M. Tittoni to this communication.

The proposal had, I told his Excellency, been reported to His Majesty's Government from Madrid, and we had instructed Sir A. Nicolson to inform the Spanish Government of our entire opposition to the idea of a Conference, adding that we considered that there was no danger on account of the Anglo-French Declaration to the policy of the open door or to liberty of commerce. The first paragraph of Article IV fully safeguarded these principles.

I inquired of his Excellency whether M. Tittoni might be expected to declare himself as definitely opposed to the idea of a Conference. He gave no very explicit

reply to this question, but said that it appeared to him impossible that a Conference could be held if Spain, France, and Great Britain all objected to it.

Signor Pansa added that he did not believe that the agreement could ever have been communicated by the French Government to the German Government in an official sense. M. Delcassé has, however, assured us that, in reply to Prince Radolin's inquiries, he had informed him of the scope and objects of the Declaration previously to its signature. Neither the German Government nor his Excellency raised any objection. The text of the Franco-Spanish Agreement was communicated to the German Government by the French Ambassador at Berlin some time before its publication, and accepted without demur.

It would be difficult for the Italian Government to encourage the idea of a Conference in view of the policy which they followed in regard to Morocco since the understanding with France in regard to Tripoli.

No. 113.

Sir C. Hardinge to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 237. Confidential.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 4, 1905.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador called upon me to-day to express his personal appreciation of the attitude of His Majesty's Government and the English press towards France on the occasion of the unexpectedly hostile demonstration of the German Emperor in connection with French policy in Morocco. He further remarked that the attitude of England had made a very deep impression in Russian official circles.

The first sentiment felt here was one of satisfaction that France should have become embroiled with Germany, owing to her agreement with England, and it was fully anticipated that France would be given to understand that she had better extricate herself as best she could from the entanglement in which she had become involved.

These illusions had been rudely dispelled by such incidents as the joint journey of the British and French Chargés d'Affaires in Tangier on board of a French cruiser, the departure of Queen Alexandra from Gibraltar before the arrival of the German Emperor, the announcement of the exchange of visits between the French and English squadrons in the summer, and the proposed interview between the King and the President of the French Republic. The importance of such incidents was not denied, and the value to France of the support of Great Britain was not underestimated.

While thanking M. Bompard for his courteous visit, and remarking that, owing to my having had the honour of being included in the King's suite on the occasion of His Majesty's memorable visit to Paris in 1903, I could not help feeling the greatest possible interest in the maintenance of the most cordial relations between the British and French Governments, I asked his Excellency if he could offer any explanation of the conduct of the German Emperor, and if there had been any provocation which might have induced His Majesty to adopt such an unexpected attitude, almost immediately after the friendly demonstration which he had made in dining with the French Ambassador at Berlin.

M. Bompard replied that, although he was in close touch with M. Bihourd, there was, as far as he knew, nothing which had occurred which could in any way explain the Emperor's action. There had been absolutely no reason why the Emperor should have suddenly expressed a desire to dine at the French Embassy, where he had not received hospitality for certainly two years, and Count Bülow's speech, and the Emperor's subsequent proceedings, had rendered His Majesty's action all the more inexplicable.

I asked him if he was aware whether M. Delcassé had ever sounded the German Government on the subject of the Morocco Agreement, and if they had hitherto raised any objections to it. M. Bompard replied that he knew for a fact that M. Delcassé had spoken to the German Ambassador in Paris no less than four times on the subject, and on one occasion the Morocco Agreement had been the object of discussion for more than an hour. On no occasion had Prince Radolin made any remark to show that the German Government were in any way interested in the future

of Morocco. He added that the inconsistency of the Emperor's character made Germany a dangerous neighbour, and the French Government could never feel sure of His Majesty's intentions. The danger of the situation was naturally aggravated by the present weakness of Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES HARDINGE.

No. 114.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 55. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Madrid, April* 3, 1905.

AS I was given to understand that some pressure was being exercised by the German Ambassador to obtain from the Spanish Government some form of declaration which could act as corollary to the German views in regard to the situation in Morocco, I took the opportunity of a visit which I paid to the Minister for Foreign Affairs last evening to reiterate the observations I had made on the 31st ultimo, and which I have reported in my despatch No. 54 of the 31st ultimo. I mentioned further to his Excellency that, although I had received no instructions to do so, I wished to inform him that your Lordship considered that it was clear from what had passed during the negotiations respecting the Anglo-French and Franco-Spanish Agreements that the political status of the open door for commercial relations was fully secured, and also that a statement in the sense which had been suggested might give rise to serious misconception. I again impressed on his Excellency that a departure from the accord established by the Agreements would be a serious matter.

M. de Villaurrutia assured me that the Spanish Government had decided to remain silent, and would loyally observe their engagements. He said that he had received a telegram from the Spanish Ambassador at Paris to the effect that the French Government were much perplexed at the attitude of Germany, but appreciated the attitude of the Spanish Government.

The French Ambassador returned from Paris to-day, and I related to him what had passed at my two interviews with the Foreign Minister, and my doubts whether the Spanish Government, unless they had their hands strengthened, might not yield in some measure to German pressure if persistently applied.

M. Cambon said he was pleased that I had spoken in the sense I had stated, as from his knowledge of Spanish statesmen my doubts were not irrational. He intended to see the Foreign Minister this evening, and, while conveying to him the thanks of M. Delcassé for the attitude of the Spanish Government, he would impress on him the necessity of loyally observing the Franco-Spanish Agreement. M. Cambon said that M. Delcassé was perplexed at the German attitude and sudden change of front. Moreover, M. Delcassé had stated the difficulty in which he was placed by the absence for the moment of all means of communication with the German Government. The Emperor was on his voyage, M. de Bülow had not been seen by the French Ambassador, M. de Richthofen was on leave of absence, Prince Radolin at Monaco, and the German Chargé d'Affaires had not visited him at his last weekly reception. When some explanations had been interchanged, either directly or indirectly, between Paris and Berlin, it was possible that all misunderstandings would be cleared up, but the gravity of the recent action of Germany lay in the fact that the mischief had already been done in Morocco. It would take long to repair this.

I fully agreed with M. Cambon on this point, and though I did not doubt that sooner or later an understanding would be arrived at between his Government and that of Germany, it would be a very long time before the effects of the visit and of the reported utterances of the German Emperor were effaced from the memory of the Sultan, his Government, and his people. I was afraid that in the meantime the negotiations at Fez would suffer a serious check, if not come to a deadlock, and it was much to be deplored that the visit had been made at this moment, accompanied, too, by circumstances which rendered it doubly inopportune and unfortunate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 115.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 58. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Madrid, April* 6, 1905.

THE German Ambassador has during the last few days adopted an attitude which is causing great surprise and considerable annoyance both at the Court and among the leading members of the Government.

I had the honour to inform your Lordship of the vehemence with which he urged the Spanish Government to issue a Declaration regarding Morocco, going so far, as I have been told on unimpeachable authority, as to hint that, unless his wishes were granted, he might be compelled to ask for his passports. The Spanish Government, however, declined to be induced to fall in with the views of the German Ambassador, although his Excellency appealed to higher quarters than the Foreign Minister.

M. de Radowitz then took strong exception to the King of Spain witnessing manœuvres of the Sixth Army Corps at Châlons, as this army corps was considered to form the first frontier defence. He informed both the King and the Government that, in order to remove all ill-feeling in Germany on this point, His Majesty should attend the German manœuvres during the first week of September, and not defer his visit till October, as had been arranged.

The Spanish Government were aware that the presence of the King of Spain at reviews and parades in Germany during the Sedan week could not but deeply and unnecessarily hurt the feelings of the French, and they considered that the most hypersensitive Teuton could hardly seriously interpret a day's visit to Châlons as in any way betraying a want of consideration for German susceptibilities. Moreover, the King wishes to observe quietly in Madrid the birthday anniversary of his late sister, the Princess of the Asturias, which occurs on the 11th September, and has informed the German Ambassador that immediately after that date he will be happy to proceed to Germany, especially as the German Emperor has intimated that he would be unable to receive him after the 20th September.

The German Ambassador has also mentioned that the German Emperor was much vexed that the King of Spain did not arrange to meet him at Vigo, and that His Majesty should not have allowed the visit of the Duke of Connaught to Madrid to stand in the way. This is strange on the part of M. de Radowitz, as I know he informed the Court at the time that the German Emperor quite understood that as the King of Spain was expecting guests at Madrid, he could not proceed to Vigo.

I mention these matters to your Lordship, as the Court and the Government are perplexed at the brusque departure of the German Ambassador from his customary courteous and conciliatory attitude, and his apparent desire to exaggerate and magnify small incidents, while endeavouring to lead the Spanish Government, and, indeed, the King, into a line of action which could not but be unwelcome to their French neighbours. The language and tone of the German Ambassador has not, moreover, I am informed, rendered the substance of his observations more palatable or acceptable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 116.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 59. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Madrid, April* 7, 1905.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me to-day that he had received a despatch from the Spanish Minister at Tangier, reporting a conversation the latter had had with Count Tattenbach, who appears to have been left at Tangier in some semi-official character.

Count Tattenbach intimated to M. de Cologan the favourable impression which had been produced on the Emperor by the friendly attitude of the Spanish Colony. He proceeded to say that the interests of Germany in Morocco were of a politico-commercial nature, and that his Emperor was unwilling to see the French installed in a priviledged position in that country. It was more in the interests of Germany to

have Spain as the predominating factor in Morocco, and that it would be well if the good intentions of the Emperor in that respect were understood and reciprocated.

M. de Villaurrutia observed that this was a somewhat strange observation for Count Tattenbach to make, and it had been of interest to the Spanish Government to note the extreme attention which the Emperor had shown to the Spanish authorities at Port Mahon, and the effusive telegram which His Majesty had dispatched from that place to the King of Spain.

I remarked that such courtesies were no doubt always pleasant to receive, but that I trusted that these flatteries would not induce Spain to be led astray into a new line of policy.

M. de Villaurrutia assured me that he perfectly saw the object which was being pursued, and that Spain would clearly adhere to her agreements. He had been amused, he added, to notice the complete change of demeanour on the part of the German Ambassador during a visit which he had paid him this afternoon. M. de Radowitz had abandoned completely the hectoring tone of the past few days, and was calm and reasonable, professing that his Government were now quite satisfied that the open door in Morocco was established as a fact, and that the object of his Emperor's visit had therefore been attained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 117.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 14.)

(No. 62.)
Madrid, April 11, 1905.

My Lord,

M. DE CASTRO, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, called on me this morning to say that he had been instructed by M. de Villaurrutia, who is indisposed, to communicate to me the following:—

Yesterday the German Ambassador had called at the Foreign Office, and, in the absence of M. de Villaurrutia, had seen M. de Castro. M. de Radowitz had stated that he had received instructions to inform the Spanish Government that his Government considered it necessary that an International Conference should be convoked in order to establish beyond question that perfect equality of commercial treatment should be maintained in Morocco, and that the "open door" should be left open to all interests. M. de Radowitz added that, before proceeding further in the matter, his Government desired to assure themselves of the assent of the Spanish Government to this proposition, and he requested that he might have a reply as soon as possible. Apparently, M. de Radowitz had given no indication as to who should issue the invitations to the Conference, or as to the locality where it would be held.

M. de Castro had told M. de Radowitz that he would communicate the above proposal to his Chief and take his orders.

M. de Villaurrutia had instructed M. de Castro to see the French Ambassador and myself on the subject, and inquire what our views were.

I told M. de Castro that I would telegraph to your Lordship what he had been good enough to communicate to me, and I asked him to transmit to M. de Villaurrutia my thanks for his loyalty and courtesy. My personal opinion was that I much doubted if my Government would fall in with the proposal. Apart from all Agreements to which Great Britain and Spain were parties, and which to my mind effectually barred the convocation of a Conference on Morocco, there were many obvious objections to such an assembly at this moment. The subjects which it was proposed to submit for discussion were not questions requiring any decision, as they were already resolved; as liberty of commerce was not endangered and there was no intention of closing the door, which was already open. It seemed to me that a Conference was an effort to establish a multiple dominion in Morocco, which would make confusion worse confounded.

M. de Castro said that M. de Villaurrutia would be glad to hear from me after I had had time to communicate with your Lordship.

The French Ambassador called on me immediately after M. de Castro had left, and informed me that that gentleman had made him a communication of a purport similar to that which I had received, and that he had replied practically in the same sense as I had done. M. Cambon showed me a telegram which he had just received from M. Delcassé, which stated that probably the German Government would suggest to certain Powers the idea of a Conference, in order to attain the object which in fact M. de Radowitz had

indicated. M. Delcassé, after stating the reasons which would necessarily prevail against the convocation of a Conference, requested M. Cambon to convey to the Spanish Government the expression of the confidence which the French Government felt that Spain would not entertain any such proposal, and would give it a negative reply. This intimation M. Cambon said he proposed to embody in a private letter to M. de Villaurrutia.

I read to M. Cambon a telegram which I was addressing to your Lordship, and to which I added also the purport of my conversation with him, and with which he expressed his entire concurrence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 118.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 15.)

(No. 63.)
Madrid, April 12, 1905.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch, I have the honour to report that I called on the French Ambassador this morning and informed him that I was authorized to make a communication similar to that which he proposed to address to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and I inquired in what form and in what terms he contemplated delivering his message.

M. Cambon told me he had seen the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs yesterday evening, and had communicated to him verbally the substance of M. Delcassé's telegram, intimating that he proposed to embody it in a private letter to M. de Villa Urrutia. M. Cambon asked me whether I was of opinion that it was preferable to make a written communication or to content ourselves with verbal messages.

I said I was in favour of a written communication, in the form of a private letter, as verbal messages, through the intermediary of the Under-Secretary, might unwittingly suffer some misconceptions and misunderstandings *en route*, and it seemed to me most desirable that the Spanish Government should have no doubt as to the views of our respective Governments.

To this M. Cambon agreed, and as we were both in accord that our communications should be identical, as the messages given to us were identical, his Excellency drew up a letter, of which I beg leave to inclose a copy, and which I have transmitted to M. de Villa Urrutia. M. Cambon has also sent an identical communication to his Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

Inclosure in No. 118.

Sir A. Nicolson to Señor Villa Urrutia.

Madrid, ce 12 Avril, 1905.

Mon cher Ministre,

EN réponse à la question qui m'a été posée, de votre part, par M. de Castro, je m'empresse de vous informer que rien ne justifie, aux yeux de mon Gouvernement, la réunion d'une Conférence relativement à la situation du Maroc, et que je suis autorisé à vous faire connaître qu'étant donné les Accords de l'Espagne, de l'Angleterre, et de la France sur cette question, toute proposition de ce genre paraît devoir recevoir un accueil négatif.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) A. NICOLSON.

No. 119.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 55. Confidential.)

Tangier, April 6, 1905.

My Lord,

THE French Chargé d'Affaires has again spoken to me regarding his conversation with the German Emperor, observing that he had heard it had been said that His Imperial Majesty had held language to him similar to that His Majesty had used to the German Colony and to the Moorish authorities, whereas, as a matter of fact, His Majesty had not in any way referred to the political status of Morocco, but merely to German commercial interests in the country. The Emperor had received him courteously, and, after a short general conversation, referred to the difficulties encountered by commerce and shipping here, such as the unsatisfactory arrangements at the ports and deficient lighter service, whereby steamers were considerably delayed. His Majesty, apparently with reference to the foregoing, observed: "J'espère que les nations Européennes feront ce qui est nécessaire pour sauvegarder leurs intérêts commerciaux." His Majesty here paused, and then, in a different tone, looking straight at Count de Chérisey, and speaking deliberately and in a louder voice, added: "En ce qui me concerne, je suis décidé à faire respecter les intérêts du commerce Allemand en ce pays," bowing as he concluded, as though to close the conversation.

The French Chargé d'Affaires, however, before withdrawing, replied: "Mais, Sire, ceci est tout à fait conforme aux désirs du Gouvernement Français."

Count de Chérisey informed me that he had at once reported this conversation to his Government, but had received no observations from them on the subject. He had not communicated it to any one at Tangier, and requested me to regard what he told me as confidential.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 120.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 56. Confidential.)

Tangier, April 6, 1905.

My Lord,

THE satisfaction evinced by the majority of foreign residents here at the line of policy enunciated by the German Emperor is, I believe, in great measure attributable to the fear that, though freedom of commerce is guaranteed under existing Treaties, means might be found by France, when once firmly established as controlling Power in Morocco, to obtain special facilities for French commerce, which, though shared by British commerce under the terms of the Declaration of last year, would not extend to the commerce of other Powers, such for instance, as the diverting of trade from Moorish to Algerian ports by the construction of railways penetrating into Morocco from Algeria, but not extending to the western ports.

In the case, too, of public works, such as harbour works, roads, and bridges railways, telegraphs, &c., it has been stated that the intention of the French Government is that no concessions should be granted, but that the Sultan should retain all such works in his own hands, giving them out by contract to French houses exclusively, instead of inviting tenders from all countries. It is hoped that the action of Germany will prevent any favourable position in this respect being obtained by France.

It appears, however, to be overlooked that the probable result of this action will be to indefinitely postpone the carrying out of such works by any one soever, and to condemn this country to continue in its present unsatisfactory condition, to the great detriment of the commerce of all countries, and more especially of Great Britain and France, who have by far the most important shares in the trade of Morocco.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT C. WHITE.

No. 121.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 59.)

Tangier, April 9, 1905.

My Lord,

I TOOK an opportunity of mentioning to the French Chargé d'Affaires the report that had reached me from Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod that the Moorish Government had entered into contracts with German houses for rebuilding the old mole, constructed at the time of the English occupation of Tangier and destroyed on the abandonment of the town, and for supplying two steam tugs and twelve lighters.

Count de Chérisey said that he had himself received news from M. Saint-René Taillandier confirming the report as regards the lighters and steam tugs, but had heard nothing of the scheme to rebuild the old mole, which would be an important work. He did not think it possible that the Sultan can actually have entered into a contract for carrying out this work, especially as His Majesty has already intrusted to a French Company, "La Compagnie Marocaine," the duty of preparing plans and estimates for the improvement of the port at Tangier. They have commenced work by virtue of Shereefian orders to the authorities here, and His Majesty can hardly have, in the meantime, given to a German house the contract for carrying out the most important part of the works.

Count de Chérisey added that he knew that the German Legation was urging the Sultan to grant various concessions to Germans, such, for example, as the lighter monopoly at all the ports. He trusted, however, that the Moorish Government, which is always unwilling to grant concessions of any kind, would refuse to accede to the requests of the German Legation. A concession of the lighter monopoly would bar the way to port improvements, as it is to the embarking and discharging of cargo that the Moorish Government must look for a return on any outlay on harbour works.

On the other hand, as it was the German Vice-Consul at Fez, who, himself, told Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod's clerk that the contract had been signed, there seems every reason to believe that the information is correct.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 122.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 60.)

Tangier, April 9, 1905.

My Lord,

THE latest reports from Fez represent the French negotiations as still in suspense. The Moorish Government do not accept any of the proposals, but still hesitate to reject them, waiting to learn what the German Emperor said to Mulai Abdelmalek.

The French Minister, I understand, does not disguise the fact that the Emperor's visit has greatly added to the difficulties he already had to encounter, but does not apparently anticipate that the difficulties will prove insurmountable. The reports of the Emperor's speeches had not yet reached Fez, and I fear that the effect produced by them upon the Sultan and the Moorish Government will be greater than was expected by M. Saint-René Taillandier.

Though the Sultan may be willing to accede to some of the minor requests in order to avoid an actual rupture, it is improbable that His Majesty will agree in the present circumstances to any proposals which would give France a power of control or too preponderating a position in the country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 123.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 61.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April* 9, 1905.

THE prolonged drought and the consequent failure of the crops, especially in the southern districts, has caused a great rise in the price of grain, from which the poorer classes are already beginning to suffer. As the season advances the number of those affected will be extended, and discontent will become prevalent, which will, I fear, react unfavourably upon the state of the country and give rise to troubles in districts which have hitherto remained quiet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 124.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 15.)

(No. 62.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April* 9, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 35 of the 18th ultimo, I have the honour to report that although the local authorities state they have received no official notification from the Court as to Raisuli's appointment as Governor of the Fahs and Gharbia districts, they recognize his appointment, the Basha of Tangier now declining to exercise jurisdiction outside the town walls.

Kaïd Abdelkerim-el-Shirgi, Commander of the expedition sent from Fez, who came to Tangier with a portion of his forces for the visit of the German Emperor, invited Raisuli to come and see him. Raisuli, however, declined to trust himself here, but replied he would be happy to receive Kaïd-el-Shirgi if he would visit him. Kaïd-el-Shirgi, though one of the principal Moorish Governors, with several provinces under his rule, besides being Commander of this expedition, accepted this invitation, and went to see Raisuli in his village on leaving Tangier. The latter did not even go out to meet him, fearing treachery, though the Kaïd was only accompanied by three soldiers. He received him in the interior of his house, with about 200 armed men posted round to prevent a surprise. Food was served and partaken of, and upon departure Kaïd-el-Shirgi received a present of money and cattle.

Raisuli, I understand, asked Kaïd-el-Shirgi to obtain for him from the Sultan a guarantee of his personal safety, undertaking in return to maintain order in all this district. The Kaïd inquired whether Raisuli was willing to repay to the Government the 7,000 dollars he had received as ransom for Messrs. Perdicaris and Varley. He replied that he was unable to do so, as some of the money had been distributed amongst the tribes who had suffered from the former expedition, and the balance had been expended in rebuilding his house and village. He offered, however, if the Sultan would strengthen his hands, to levy the money on the people under his jurisdiction and pay it to the Sultan through Kaïd-el-Shirgi.

I hear from a good source that Raisuli's distrust is well-founded, Kaïd-el-Shirgi's orders being to inspire confidence in Raisuli and then effect his capture.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 125.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 16.)

(No. 37.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, April* 16, 1905.

I AM told that the Italian Ambassador has been informed by the United States' Minister for Foreign Affairs that the American Government are opposed to joining a Conference on Moroccan affairs.

No. 126.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 23.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, April* 17, 1905.

MOROCCO and Germany. Proposed conference.

A telegram read to me to-day by the French Ambassador indicated that there was an impression that the insistence of Germany may be ceded to by Spain.

Both M. Cambon and myself thought that the language of the German Ambassador had at one time impressed and a little shaken the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs; but we are both now satisfied that the undertakings of Spain will be loyally and firmly adhered to by her, and that she will not do anything without consulting with us previously.

No. 127.

Sir M. Durand to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 31. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Washington, April* 17, 1905.

BEFORE receiving your Lordship's repetition of Sir E. Egerton's telegram No. 37 of yesterday's date, I had an interview this morning with the Acting Secretary of State in regard to Morocco. I mentioned the subject of a Conference, but Mr. Loomis did not say anything as to the attitude of the American Government in regard to it. I inferred from a hint of his that a more definite object was the aim of the German Minister in Morocco. Our Representative there might be able to discover this object. It is evident that Mr. Loomis has some information, but that he does not feel at liberty to disclose it. The Secretary of War is not here at present.

No. 128.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 18.)

(No. 66.)
My Lord, *Madrid, April* 14, 1905.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me this afternoon that the Italian Ambassador had called on him in the morning to communicate to him confidentially the substance of a telegram which he had received from M. Tittoni. M. Silvestrelli stated that the German Government had inquired of that of Italy in which light the latter would regard the convocation of a Conference to discuss the affairs of Morocco, and that his Government, before giving a reply, desired to ascertain the views of the Spanish Government on the subject.

M. de Villaurrutia informed M. Silvestrelli that, in his personal opinion, a Conference on Morocco was inopportune and unnecessary, and likely to lead to grave difficulties.

In view of the Agreements which Spain had with France, and of the fact that she had recognized the Anglo-French Declaration, the Spanish Government could not possibly adhere to the proposal of a Conference unless both France and Great Britain agreed to the project. The action of Spain must be in harmony with that of the two above-mentioned Powers.

The conversation appears to have terminated with this declaration, and M. de Villaurrutia had no opportunity of judging what were the views of the Italian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 129.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 67.)

Madrid, April 14, 1905.

My Lord,

I HAVE had conversations to-day both with the Minister for Foreign Affairs and with the French Ambassador in regard to the proposal made to the Spanish Government by the German Ambassador that they should associate themselves with Germany in the convocation of a Conference to discuss the situation in Morocco. The conversations were both lengthy, and I will endeavour to compress their substance is as small a compass as possible.

I would remark, in the first place, that the German Ambassador appears, in later conversations with the Foreign Minister, to have gone beyond the original statement that the Conference would deal merely with equality of commercial treatment and the policy of the "open door," and to have intimated that the whole situation in Morocco, and the two Agreements, both Anglo-French and Franco-Spanish, should be submitted for discussion and revision. The German Ambassador's arguments appear to have been the following:—

That it had recently become clear that France was desirous of establishing a Protectorate over Morocco, similar to that established in Tunis. That, though it was possible that the "open door" for sea-borne commerce would remain open, the control of the military, financial, and administrative machines in Morocco would be exclusively in French hands; and, moreover, that all industrial enterprises would be granted to French concessionnaires. This would be an order of things which Germany could not and would not tolerate; it would be a disturbance of the existing *status quo* in the Mediterranean, and would close a country with great possibilities to every nation but France. France showed no disposition to enter into any discussion or negotiations with Germany, who appeared to have been ignored both by England and France. A Conference was therefore the only escape from the present imbroglio, as it was only at a Conference that the whole Morocco situation could be reviewed and a general agreement arrived at.

The Spanish Government have replied that they are unable to agree to the proposal to join in a Conference unless those two Powers with whom she has engagements concur in giving their adhesion also. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has added, as an expression of personal opinion, that a Conference on Morocco would probably but complicate matters, and would be inopportune and unnecessary; the political *status quo* and the "open door" are already, he remarked, secured by the Agreements.

The French Ambassador and myself have impressed on the Foreign Minister that the Spanish Government should maintain their attitude of taking no steps without a previous concert and understanding with us; and we are both of opinion that the Minister for Foreign Affairs is fully alive to the obligations which govern this action.

I pointed out to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the arguments of the German Ambassador could be met by stating that Morocco was in a condition of chaos and anarchy, which was injurious to all interests, and, in a sense, especially to French interests; that France undertook to restore order and security, and to gradually reform the Administration, while strengthening and upholding the Sultan's authority. To effect this it was clear that a properly organized force was required, that some order should be brought into the finances, and some experienced advice given to the Sultan and his Government. This was a task requiring much patience, much anxiety, and probably entailing some expense; that France had undertaken the responsibility of this undertaking; and her geographical situation, the material she had at hand in Algeria, and other special advantages gave her a peculiar title to take the place which both Spain and we had willingly accorded her. All those who had interests in Morocco should therefore wish her success in her enterprise, which could not but prove of general benefit to all. The Treaties, Conventions, and usages hitherto existing were to be maintained; liberty of commerce and the policy of the "open door" were safeguarded; and there was no reason to assume that there was a desire to institute a French monopoly of industrial or other concessions.

I told M. de Villaurrutia that I ventured to make these observations as it would be deplorable if a policy so beneficial as that inagurated by France should be crossed and impeded.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 130.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 18.)

(No. 40. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, April 18, 1905.*

MOROCCO. The Italian Government were informed two days ago by their Ambassador in Berlin that M. Delcassé is quite willing to enter into discussion with the German Government on the subject of Morocco.

The Italian Under-Secretary tells me that the German Ambassador in Paris and M. Delcassé have not had any conversation on the question of late.

No. 131.

Mr. Lister to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 19.)

(No. 19.)

Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, April 19, 1905.*

A VIOLENT attack on M. Delcassé's policy in Morocco was made in the Chamber by MM. Deschanel and Jaurès last night.

His Excellency made a weak and inadequate reply, and if a vote had been taken there seemed to be a possibility of the Government being defeated. In a strong speech the President of the Council declared the solidarity and joint responsibility of the Cabinet in regard to the question. The Government, he said, were prepared to clear up any misunderstanding which might exist. The initiative desired by M. Deschanel had been taken by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was now awaiting the reply of the German Government to the communication which he had addressed to them on this subject.

In view of the very serious situation which would have been created, as regards Germany, in the event of the Government being defeated on a question of this nature, M. Jaurès was persuaded not to press the matter. No vote was accordingly taken, and the Chamber appeared to be reassured by M. Rouvier's statement.

No. 132.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 226.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 19, 1905.*

THE French Minister asked me to-day whether it would be possible to arrange for Mr. Lowther to pay an early visit to Fez, and to be there simultaneously with the French Minister. The French Government thought that a good effect would be produced if Mr. Lowther and the French Minister were to be seen there together.

I told M. Geoffray that I would endeavour to arrange that this should be done.

I am, &c.

(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 133.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 39.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April 20, 1905.*

MR. CONSUL MACLEAN has reported to me that the neighbouring tribes made a demonstration against Daralbaida on the 17th instant. After negotiating with the Governor, the tribesmen withdrew without attacking the town. It is said that the Governor promised concessions and made a small payment of money. There is, however, no confirmation of this report.

No. 134.

Mr. Lister to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 142.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 20, 1905.*

AS I had the honour to report in my telegram No. 19 of yesterday's date, a violent attack was made in the Chamber of Deputies yesterday on the policy of M. Delcassé in connection with Morocco.

The attack was led by M. Jaurès, who, ever since the visit of the German Emperor to Tangier, has conducted a campaign in his newspaper, "l'Humanité," against the attitude of the Minister for Foreign Affairs with regard to Germany.

He was seconded by M. Deschanel, the late President of the Chamber. Both orators, though belonging to very different groups in the Chamber, criticized M. Delcassé's policy very severely, and attributed to it the present situation in Morocco, which rendered most improbable the adoption by the Sultan of any of the reforms desired by France.

They both insisted on the necessity of entering without delay into negotiations with Germany, for the purpose of clearing up the situation and avoiding a dangerous outburst or a humiliating retreat.

The reply of the Minister for Foreign Affairs undoubtedly did not satisfy the Chamber, and it was necessary for the President of the Council to mount the Tribune. M. Rouvier insisted most strongly on the solidarity of the Government in this question as in all others, and declared that as President of the Council he assumed the full responsibility for the policy of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. If misunderstandings still existed, the Government were fully prepared to dissipate them, and, as M. Delcassé had stated, the initiative with regard to negotiations had already been taken. They were now awaiting the reply of Germany.

M. Rouvier's declarations appeared to satisfy the Chamber, and no vote was taken.

The report of the debate, as published in the "Journal Officiel," is inclosed herein,* and I shall have the honour to report to your Lordship further on the matter by messenger to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) REGINALD LISTER.

No. 135.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 40.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April 21, 1905.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 20 of yesterday, I will at once cause the Sultan to be informed about proposed Mission. I am, however, doubtful whether it is possible that arrangements for departure could be made in less time than a month, for some time is required in connection with the preparation respecting the servants, &c., which the Moorish Government provide.

I shall have, I presume, to take presents with me, and I suppose that some officers and an army medical officer would necessarily accompany the expedition.

Owing to the fact that the doctors have forbidden Mr. White to stay here during the hot weather, some arrangement will be necessary with regard to the charge of this Legation.

I suggest that Irwin, Bristow, and Ovey accompany me. It will probably be necessary to go as far as Laraiche by sea, and a war-ship would in that case be required.

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* Not printed.

No. 136.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 21.)

(No. 24. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, April 21, 1905.*

MOROCCO and Germany. Proposed conference.

The French Ambassador has mentioned to me several times how helpful it would be in the present Morocco difficulty if Sir F. Lascelles, in view of the special position which he enjoys in the confidence of the German Emperor, could speak privately to him on the subject, suggesting more especially that pending friendly discussions between Paris and Berlin the German Mission to Fez should be suspended.

The matter has, I gather, been mentioned by him to M. Delcassé, and he seemed anxious your Lordship should know of the suggestion.

No. 137.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 20.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April 21, 1905.*

IT is thought that a good impression would be created if you could visit Fez simultaneously with your French colleague. Could you arrange to do so? French Minister has approached me on the subject.

No. 138.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 63.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April 12, 1905.*

THE German Minister at Lisbon, Count von Tattenbach, who was Minister here from May 1889 till the spring of 1896, accompanied the German Emperor on his visit to Tangier, and proceeded with His Majesty to Gibraltar, whence he returned here with M. von Kühlman on the following day. He was waiting here for a steamer to convey him back to Lisbon, when he received instructions from Berlin to take charge of the German Legation until the arrival of Herr von Rosen, who is on his way back to Germany from Abyssinia, and will probably not take up his post here for a few months. The German Government have expressed their entire approval of M. von Kühlman's conduct of affairs during the time he had been in charge of the Legation, but, in the present circumstances, they considered it necessary to have a Minister here.

Count von Tattenbach has informed me that he has now received instructions to proceed to Fez on a special mission to convey to the Sultan the thanks of the German Emperor for having sent Mulai Abdelmalek to greet him at Tangier, and His Majesty's appreciation of the warm welcome afforded him. He added that he was not instructed to demand any concessions or open any negotiations, as that would be left for Herr von Rosen, who will, I presume, proceed to the Court shortly after his arrival.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 139.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 64. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April 12, 1905.*

COUNT VON TATTENBACH spoke to me to-day of the situation in Morocco, saying that Germany entirely ignores the existence of the Anglo-French Agreement in regard to this country, and denies that the situation here has been in any way altered by it so far as concerns Germany and the Moorish Government. As regards

Egypt the case is different: His Majesty's Government had shown due consideration for the German Government, and had duly communicated to them the terms of the Agreement, and they had been glad to give their consent to the Khedivial Decree; the French Government, however, had not thought proper to adopt the same course, and had chosen to entirely ignore Germany, and not to communicate to her the terms of the Agreement in regard to Morocco. They had thereby made a grave mistake, the consequences of which they must now suffer.

I observed that I had understood that M. Delcassé had communicated the substance of the Agreement to Prince Radolin before its signature, and that a communication on the subject had also been subsequently made to the German Government by the French Ambassador at Berlin.

Count von Tattenbach replied that this was not a fact, and that the French Government had never communicated the Agreement to his Government. Germany had been profoundly hurt by the slight thus put upon her, and there was a very strong feeling upon the subject in the country. It was said that Germany had no political interests in the country; but, if that was so before, the action of France had now created them, for it was now a serious question of internal politics. The political question, in fact, far outweighed the commercial question, for, after all, the commercial interests of Germany in Morocco are at present trifling. Nevertheless, though German commerce here is at present on a small scale, it might some day become important, for the country has great capabilities, and the Government is determined to protect those interests. France, he added, appeared to imagine that it was now free to practically take possession of the country, Morocco Committees being formed, expeditions sent out, dinners given, and speeches made, showing what their intentions really are—to monopolize everything, commerce, loans, public works, mines, the control of the army and of the custom-houses, &c. They forgot, however, that other Powers have Treaty rights in Morocco, and will not allow it to become another Tunis.

I pointed out that the Anglo-French Declaration contained the necessary guarantees that Morocco would not become another Tunis, for the political status of the country being maintained, the Treaty rights of all Powers remain intact; moreover, the declarations of the French Government make it clear that there is no question of excluding the commerce of other countries. The formal declarations made by M. Delcassé must be taken as the true statement of French policy in Morocco, and not the speeches of irresponsible Frenchmen.

Count von Tattenbach observed, in reply, that had His Majesty's Government considered that the maintenance of the political status of Morocco was sufficient for the protection of British commerce it would not have considered it necessary to insert in the declaration a special clause for that purpose, wherein provision is made even for the detail of the coasting trade. Other Powers, however, would not benefit by the guarantees especially given to Great Britain, but must take steps to protect their own interests. He quite understood the position of Great Britain: we had effected a general settlement, receiving in other parts of the world compensation for what we surrendered in Morocco. Germany, however, was not disposed to sit still and allow its rights to be infringed; it is therefore taking steps to protect those rights. If the French find their action inconvenient, they have only themselves to blame; they can, if they think fit, open negotiations at Berlin, but it is not for the German Government to commence the discussion. They only recognize the Sultan in Morocco, and will treat with His Majesty direct.

I remarked that it was to be feared that all progress and reform in this country will be retarded, and that the state of disorder and insecurity to life and property will be indefinitely prolonged, to the great detriment of the commerce of all nations, the English being the principal sufferers, as their trade is the most important. I had lived too long in this country to believe in the possibility of reforms coming from within, unless assistance is afforded by some foreign Power. From her geographical position France appears to be indicated as the Power to undertake the task, as, owing to her position in Algeria, she is the most affected by the disturbed state of the country, and is the best placed for bringing the necessary pressure to bear upon the Moorish Government to induce it to enter upon the path of progress and reform, by which the commerce of all nations will profit.

Count von Tattenbach refused to admit that France had any special call to take in hand the reform of Morocco. If all the Powers would put aside their jealousies and work loyally together in this country there was no reason why reforms and progress should not be inaugurated for the common benefit. The Foreign Represen-

tatives already act together as Board of Health and Commission of Management of the Spartel Lighthouse; the scope of their co-operation might be extended, and they might jointly induce the Sultan to introduce the necessary measures of reform.

I reminded Count von Tattenbach that past experience in Morocco did not encourage the hope that such a plan would meet with any success. Attempts had frequently been made to come to an agreement on various matters of this nature, but had always resulted in failure.

On the conversation closing Count von Tattenbach said that in the foregoing remarks he had merely been expressing his personal opinion, not having yet had time to take cognizance of the despatches received at the Legation from his Government. I replied that I had understood that our conversation had been of a personal character.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 140.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 22.)

(No. 65.)
Tangier, April 14, 1905.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram No. 18, of the 27th ultimo, I have the honour to report that the Basha has held an inquiry into the matter of the attempt to assassinate Mr. Harris, the "Times" correspondent. The prisoner himself admitted the charge, and witnesses were produced who proved that the attack was quite unprovoked. The prisoner has been examined by the doctor attached to the French Legation, who has certified that he is suffering from religious madness ("délire mystique"), and is not in the full possession of his senses.

As it would not be safe to allow this man to be at large, I have requested the Basha not to set him at liberty without previous notice to this Legation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 141.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 22.)

(No. 66.)
Tangier, April 15, 1905.

My Lord,

REPORTS have lately been current that an offer has been made to the Sultan to raise a loan in Germany of a sufficient amount to pay off the existing French loan and leave a considerable sum at the disposal of the Treasury. I have as yet been unable to obtain any definite information on the subject, or confirmation in any authoritative quarter, though I am inclined to believe that the report is not entirely devoid of foundation.

Under the terms, however, of the contract of the French loan the Sultan cannot pay off the capital amount before the 1st January, 1922, nor demand the removal from the custom-houses of the French Agents of the representatives of the bondholders. Moreover, there is, I understand, a special clause in the contract conceding to the French a right of priority in regard to any further loan the Moorish Government may desire to raise. The Sultan, therefore, is not free to raise any money in Germany of the nature of a State loan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 142.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 22.)

(No. 70.)
Madrid, April 18, 1905.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador was good enough to read to me to-day a telegram which he had received from M. Delcassé giving the substance of a conversation which his

Excellency had held with Prince Radolin in regard to Morocco. As your Lordship will, doubtless, have been fully informed of the details of the conversation, it would be superfluous for me to report it.

M. Cambon said that he thought that an occasion had now been offered to the German Government to explain what securities they desired for the protection of their commercial interests in Morocco, and he hoped that a satisfactory understanding would now be reached.

I asked him if he considered there was any possibility, pending the *pourparlers* between the two Governments, of Count Tattenbach postponing his journey to Fez. Although there was every possibility of the two Governments arriving at an understanding, it seemed to me that a long time would elapse before the impression produced on the Sultan, his Government, and the tribes in Morocco by the recent incident at Tangier would be effaced. This impression was not favourable to the negotiations of M. Saint-René Taillandier; and if Count Tattenbach proceeded to Fez I was afraid, from what I knew of his character and of his former attitude when German Minister at Tangier, that it was not probable he would assist in facilitating the arduous task of the French Minister: I feared indeed that the contrary would be the case. Moreover, a foreign Representative, if he were impetuous and anxious to gain superficial successes, had a very free hand at Fez. The Sultan had no Representatives in Europe, and a foreign Minister could use language and perhaps hold out hopes, even in excess of his instructions, without any check or control. Recent events must have weakened the position of M. Saint-René Taillandier at the Court, and the advent of Count Tattenbach might sap it still further. We had no authorities at Fez which would be, however well disposed, in a position to materially assist the French Minister and serve as a counterpoise to the action of Count Tattenbach. I believed my successor was on the point of arriving at Tangier, but I did not know if he contemplated an early visit to the Court for the purpose of presenting his credentials. If the German Government were inclined to enter into friendly discussions with that of France, it seemed to me that the postponement of the Mission of Count Tattenbach would be of advantage. I had no *locus standi* in these questions, and submitted the above observations with all diffidence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 143.

Mr. Lister to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 145.)
My Lord, *Paris, April 21, 1905.*

IN my despatch No. 142 of yesterday's date I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship the official report of the debate which took place in the Chamber of Deputies on the 19th instant with regard to the policy of the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Morocco.

There is no doubt that M. Delcassé's position has been considerably shaken by the attacks made upon him, and that the intervention of the President of the Council was absolutely necessary to avert a catastrophe.

The Chamber has grown somewhat impatient of the method already employed on previous occasions by M. Delcassé of meeting criticism by a recital of his political achievements in the past, and his concluding remark to the effect that the Minister for Foreign Affairs could only speak with the greatest reserve in the Chamber of Deputies ("ne peut pas parler impunément") produced a very bad effect.

I learn on good authority that M. Ribot urged most strongly upon M. Rouvier the necessity of supporting his colleague, and had he not done so, had intended to speak himself.

M. Jaurès' attack was able and eloquent, and represented the feelings of Deputies of different shades of opinion. His political friends say that his desire was merely to show up what he considered the ineptitude of M. Delcassé's policy, and that, having, as they maintain, done this, he wished no further to embarrass the Government, especially after M. Rouvier's declarations.

An article more or less in this sense appeared the following morning in his newspaper the "Humanité," written by himself.

There is no doubt that M. Jaurès had prepared an order of the day on which he

intended that a vote should be taken, but he was prevailed upon to withdraw it in view of the situation which would be created had the division proved unfavourable to the Government.

It is agreed upon all sides that until the situation is cleared up the Minister for Foreign Affairs cannot possibly be sacrificed; such a measure would be tantamount to a surrender to Germany. At the same time his position is no doubt rendered more critical by the fact that he has in the Cabinet a powerful rival in the person of M. Etienne, whose knowledge of foreign and Colonial politics is very great, and whose views on many questions are known to be divergent from those of M. Delcassé.

The press has, of course, published countless articles on the subject, the two most interesting being those in the "Temps," of last night and the "Matin" of to-day.

The former considers that in face of the action of the German Emperor at Tangier, which was undoubtedly unfriendly, two courses were open to the French Government. They might either, without waiting till the question became embittered, have demanded an explanation of an attitude which they had every right to consider surprising, or else, taking the line that French policy remained the same and that nothing in their action had contradicted their declarations, they might have pursued the policy which they had undertaken in Morocco, duly noting the difficulties created by the action of Germany, but at the same time relying on the resources at their disposal. The first course would have been acceptable had it been taken immediately; the second would have been legitimate provided that it were strongly supported. Unfortunately, M. Delcassé adopted the second course without adhering to it, and fell back upon the first when it was too late to derive any advantage from it.

The article in the "Matin," which is from the pen of M. Camile Pelletan, warns the Government of the dangers of a policy of Colonial enterprise. France already had in Europe a frontier of some thousand kilometres from Dunkirk to Mentone to defend. Colonial ventures were fraught with danger; the Mexico expedition enabled Prussia to seize Germany. Tonquin had given her Alsace-Lorraine. Whenever the question of the Austrian succession should arise it would be well for France to have her hands free. Russia was being strangled by Manchuria, and had ceased to count in the politics of Europe. The Russian alliance was practically useless; was it unreasonable to imagine that Germany might take advantage of these altered conditions? Under all these circumstances it would be criminal folly to be drawn into a venture in Morocco.

The attention of the Chamber has once more been turned to the Bill for the separation of Church and State, and before their reassembling after the Easter Recess, it is hoped that the Morocco question may have entered upon a less acute phase.

I have, &c.
(Signed) REGINALD LISTER.

No. 144.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Lascelles.

(No. 59.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April 23, 1905.*

I SHOULD like to know exactly what you think of suggestion contained in Sir A. Nicolson's telegram No. 24 of the 21st instant, repeated to you in my immediately preceding telegram. If you could say anything to convince the Emperor that German interests in Morocco are in no way threatened, French Government would be grateful, though we have had as yet no communication from M. Delcassé on the subject. I feel, however, considerable doubts as to the wisdom of the course suggested.

No. 145.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 61.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April* 23, 1905.

GERMAN attitude in dispute with regard to Morocco seems to us most unreasonable, having regard to attitude of M. Delcassé, to whom we desire to give all possible support.

It is not improbable that German Government may ask for a Moorish port. You should inform M. Delcassé that, in this eventuality, we should be ready to join French Government in strongly opposing any such suggestion. If the question is raised we trust French Government will give us full opportunity of conferring with them as to steps to be taken in opposition to Germany.

No. 146.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 114. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, April* 20, 1905.

A STATEMENT appeared in the evening papers on the 17th instant that it was believed that the French Ambassador would take the opportunity of Dr. von Mühlberg's weekly reception of Ambassadors on the following day to make a communication to his Excellency on the subject of Morocco. I was, therefore, not surprised, on my arrival at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to find that all the Ambassadors were present in the waiting-room, and I was therefore the last to be received by Dr. von Mühlberg. After a short conversation on unimportant matters, I asked his Excellency whether he had any news to give me, and he at once replied that M. Bihourd had read to him a rather long document, which appeared to him to be merely a résumé of M. Delcassé's speech in the French Chamber, and would not do much to bring about a solution of the question. He was aware of the opinion I entertained on the line taken by the German Government, and greatly regretted that I judged them so severely.

I repeated that in my interview with him a fortnight earlier, I had not concealed the opinion I had formed, and that I was still unable to understand the action of the German Government.

Dr. von Mühlberg repeated the arguments which he had employed in our former conversation, the substance of which I had the honour to report in my despatch No. 91, Confidential, of the 6th instant. His principal points were that it was time for Germany to take action to protect their interests in Morocco when the French Minister in Morocco had given it to be understood that he spoke in the name of Europe. It was true that M. Saint-René Taillandier had denied having said so in so many words, but the Sultan of Morocco had received the impression that he had done so, and (*sic*) when the French press advocated the Tunisification of Morocco.

I replied, as on the previous occasion, that even admitting that M. Saint-René Taillandier had committed an indiscretion, which apparently he denied, it seemed to me that the regular course would have been to ask for an explanation from his Government of the language imputed to him, and I did not think that much importance need be attached to the utterances of the French press. To this, Dr. von Mühlberg replied that the "Temps," which was M. Delcassé's own organ, was one of the papers of which he complained. His Excellency went on to say that France had made an arrangement with England which she had not thought fit to communicate to Germany, and, on my interrupting him by saying that I was not aware that it was usual for two Powers to communicate to third parties the arrangements they might come to between themselves, observed that he would not press that point; but it was evident that France was seeking to obtain an exceptional position for herself in Morocco, and Germany had reason to fear that her interests in that country were not sufficiently protected, and she was now about to enter into direct negotiations with the Sultan. Count Tattenbach had not yet been able to start for Fez, but he hoped to be able to do so in a fortnight's time, when the Sultan would have made the necessary preparations for his journey.

I asked Dr. von Mühlberg whether he anticipated any serious complications to arise in connection with this subject. He replied, after a momentary hesitation, that he

hoped not, but that he believed that the best way of averting them would be an exchange of views between the Powers interested in Morocco, who were parties to the Madrid Convention of 1880. He did not mention the word "Conference."

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 147.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 116. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, April* 21, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 114 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to report that my French colleague has been good enough to give me an account of his conversation with Dr. von Mühlberg on the 18th instant, on the subject of Morocco.

M. Bihourd said that he began by reading to Dr. von Mühlberg a very carefully-prepared Memorandum which had been sent to him from Paris, and was practically a résumé of the statements which M. Delcassé had made in the Chamber of Deputies.

Dr. von Mühlberg did not appear satisfied with these explanations, and stated the grounds for the action taken by Germany in language so similar to that which he subsequently used to me, as reported in my despatch above referred to, that I need not trouble your Lordship with a repetition of it.

M. Bihourd said that Dr. von Mühlberg was completely in the wrong on two points. Firstly, that M. Saint-René Taillandier had claimed to speak in the name of Europe, which he had denied having done, although it was possible that, in urging the Sultan to adopt the reforms, he had suggested he would be benefiting not only France, but all the Powers which had commercial relations with Morocco. The second point on which Dr. von Mühlberg was in the wrong was that he had stated that the "Temps" had urged the Tunisification of Morocco. The "Temps" had not made any such suggestion, and Dr. von Mühlberg had probably confounded it with the "Débats," over which the French Government had no sort of control.

The impression left on M. Bihourd's mind by this conversation was that he found himself in presence of a "parti pris" on the part of the German Government not to accept the explanations which the French Government were willing to offer—a frame of mind which did not facilitate a satisfactory solution of the question. He did not believe that Germany wished to provoke a war, and now that the idea of a Conference had not been favourably received by the other Powers, he thought it probable that the strained relations between the two Powers would continue, and that the Germans would seek, by direct communications with the Sultan, to counteract French influence in Morocco. Dr. von Mühlberg had, however, requested him to furnish him with a copy of the Memorandum he had read, and he had telegraphed to Paris for permission to do so. He hoped that he would very shortly receive this permission, as he thought that it would be advisable that Dr. von Mühlberg should be put in possession of the Memorandum, which was an admirable statement of M. Delcassé's views, and which he would be happy to show me if he were authorized to communicate it to the German Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 148.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 24.)

(No. 41.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 24, 1905.

THE German Minister has, I hear, received instructions from Berlin to start sooner than originally intended for Fez. The 1st May is the probable date of his departure.

No. 149.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 24.)

(No. 10.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Berlin, April* 24, 1905.

IT seems to me inadvisable to approach the Emperor on this question as suggested in your Lordship's telegram No. 59. I should be prepared to express my opinion, as I have already done to Mühlberg, should His Majesty mention the subject to me, but the Emperor would probably resent a suggestion from me that the German Mission to Fez should be suspended, and more harm than good would result.

Although the Emperor is expected to be present at the reviews of the 1st and 2nd May, he will not take up his residence at Potsdam till towards the end of the month, and I am not therefore likely to have an opportunity of seeing His Majesty for some considerable time.

No. 150.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 22.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April* 24, 1905.

JOURNEY to Fez. We will arrange about military staff to accompany you to Fez and man-of-war to convey you thither. Make your arrangements for departure as soon as possible.

No. 151.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Lascelles.

(No. 60.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April* 25, 1905.

THE opinion expressed in your telegram No. 10 of the 24th instant is doubtless correct.

No. 152.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 26.)

(No. 42. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, April* 26, 1905.

IT is asserted here by the German Legation that last November the French Minister was warned by them that it was expected by Germany that France would make some agreement with her with reference to the question of Morocco.

To-day's telegram in the "Times" on this subject was communicated by the German Minister to the "Times" correspondent.

This statement is, I am confidentially informed, true. The French Minister, however, did not report it to his Government, under the impression that no value need be attached to the German Chargé d'Affaires' warning, and that the channel of communication was exceptional. The French Chargé d'Affaires here did, however, report it in the early part of February.

No. 153.

Sir M. Durand to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 26.)

(No. 35.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Washington, April* 26, 1905.

SECRETARY TAFT, by desire of President, has just visited me. German Emperor has intimated to President that fears are entertained in Germany that France will have support of England in some important declaration with regard to Moroccan policy.

No. 150*.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 25.)

(No. 28.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, April* 25, 1905.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 61 of the 22nd instant, I have to report that the French Government have not heard of any steps being taken by Germany to obtain a port on the coast of Morocco.

M. Delcassé will telegraph to inform the French Minister in Morocco of the possibility of an attempt to obtain such a concession, and to instruct him to warn the Sultan against it.

His Excellency promises to consult with His Majesty's Government as to steps to be taken, and to communicate with your Lordship if he receives any information.

He is very grateful for the support of His Majesty's Government.

No. 151*.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 17.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April* 25, 1905.

I HAVE ascertained from His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin that he does not approve proposal contained in your telegram No. 24 of 21st instant. He thinks that Emperor would probably resent any suggestion on his part as to suspension of German Mission to Fez, and that he might do more harm than good in approaching His Majesty, whom he is not also likely to see at present.

I concur in Sir F. Lascelles' opinion.

America, Mr. Taft remarked, does not care a cent about Morocco, and has no desire to take sides, but President would like to remove friction, as he thinks England and Germany are unduly suspicious of each other's intentions.

A passage from a letter of the President was read to me by Mr. Taft. In it the President laid stress on the fact that he was actuated only by a desire to bring about a better feeling between Germany and England, and to persuade each side that the other does not mean to attack. I said I thought we had no fear of being attacked by Germany, as she was too weak at sea, even if she wished to attack us. I told him I would telegraph at once the substance of his remarks, and begged him to thank the President.

I should say that President would like to ascertain your views about Morocco: he probably wishes to communicate them to the German Emperor. As I leave Washington on Friday for England, and would like to communicate your views to Mr. Taft at our farewell interview to-morrow afternoon, I should be obliged for an early reply. I will postpone leave if you prefer it.

No. 154.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir M. de Bunsen.

(No. 21.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 26, 1905.*

THE Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires called to-day and said that he had instructions to inform me, in a semi-official and confidential manner, that the German Representative at Lisbon had recently spoken to the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject of Morocco, though only as an expression of his personal views.

He said that the German Government had not, at the time, made any objection to the Anglo-French Agreement, as it did not appear to threaten the commercial interests of other Powers. Recently, however, the proceedings of the French Government seemed to tend in that direction, and the German Government had been compelled to take action in self-defence. The best solution of the difficulty would be that the whole question should be discussed in a Conference.

M. Manoel was told, in an equally confidential and unofficial manner, that something of the same kind had been said at Madrid and Rome, but that we were all agreed that the commercial interests of other Powers were not threatened and that a Conference was unnecessary.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 155.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 156. Confidential.)

My Lord. *Paris, April 25, 1905.*

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 61 dated the night of the 23rd reached this Embassy early next morning, and I wrote to M. Delcassé to ask him to receive me, but Easter Monday is a general holiday in France, and the Public Offices are closed. His Excellency had gone into the country for a few hours, and my letter did not reach him till late at night, and this morning he sent me word that he would see me this afternoon.

I began my conversation with the Minister by making him acquainted with the telegraphic report which your Lordship had received from His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid of a suggestion made by the French Ambassador that it might be helpful in regard to the Morocco difficulty if Sir Frank Lascelles spoke privately to the German Emperor to the end that the German Mission to Fez should be suspended pending discussion between Paris and Berlin. I also informed M. Delcassé of the doubts which you entertained of the wisdom of such action, and of the inquiry which you had

consequently addressed to Sir Frank Lascelles, and of his reply, deprecating any such steps on his part.

M. Delcassé said that the suggestion was an idea of the French Ambassador at Madrid. He knew of it, but it did not much commend itself to him. He had abstained from communicating it to His Majesty's Government, and he considered, having regard to the contents of the telegram from His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, that it would be very inadvisable that he should do anything more than he had already done.

I then asked M. Delcassé whether he had information as to any steps being taken by Germany with a view of obtaining a port on the coast of Morocco.

His Excellency answered that he knew that some years ago Count Hatzfeldt had approached His Majesty's Government on the subject, but no doubt the German Government still entertained the desire, but how would they manage to carry it out now?

I asked whether any hint had been received that a port was what was desired by Germany.

M. Delcassé assured me that he had not been approached in any way on the subject.

I then told his Excellency that I supposed that His Majesty's Government must have received reliable information that a port was the aim of the German Emperor, for your Lordship had informed me that it seemed not unlikely that the German Government might ask for a port. You had authorized me to say that, in view of M. Delcassé's attitude in the Morocco question, His Majesty's Government considered that the conduct of Germany had been most unreasonable, and that they desired to give to his Excellency all the support in their power; that it seemed not improbable that the German Government might ask for a port on the coast of Morocco, and that in such case His Majesty's Government would be prepared to join the French Government in offering strong opposition to such a proposal ("pour s'opposer fortement à une telle proposition"), and they begged that, if the question were raised, M. Delcassé would give full opportunity to His Majesty's Government to concert with the French Government as to the measures which might be taken to meet it ("les mesures qui pourraient être prises pour aller à l'encontre de cette demande").

M. Delcassé asked me to inform your Lordship that the French Government were most grateful for the support of His Majesty's Government in view of the attitude of Germany. He would at once inform the French Minister at Fez of the possibility of an attempt on the part of the German Government to obtain a port, and instruct him to warn the Sultan of Morocco against listening to such a demand.

His Excellency promised to communicate at once with your Lordship if he received any information, and to consult with His Majesty's Government as to the steps which should be taken if such a demand were made on behalf of Germany.

M. Delcassé then asked me how Germany could obtain a port if France and England opposed it.

My answer was that the Sultan of Morocco might be led to believe that he could rely on material support from Germany in his resistance to French demands for reforms, and be induced to make a concession to Germany of a port as a pledge of confidence in her. Of course, Germany could not really take advantage of such a concession if France and England were determined to prevent it, but it was possible that the Emperor thought that bluff might enable him to fulfil his desire.

M. Delcassé seemed to doubt the probability of the Sultan making any such concession to Germany when France was making no demands which would affect in any way the integrity of Morocco.

On my inquiring whether any result had come from the after-dinner conversation which the newspapers stated that M. Delcassé had had with the German Ambassador some days ago, his Excellency was good enough to send for and to read to me his record (in a despatch to the French Ambassador at Berlin) of that conversation, and he told me that down to the present time he had not received any communication as a consequence of his observations to Prince Radolin, or of the observations which the French Ambassador had made with M. Delcassé's authority at the Berlin Foreign Office to Dr. Mühlberg. His Excellency informed me that he had forwarded to the French Embassy in London a copy of his despatch for your Lordship's information.

The general feeling in Paris is that the chief object which the German Emperor had in view in his recent proceedings is to show the French people that an understanding with England is of little value to them, and that they had much better come to an agreement with Germany. To this end he "fait la guerre à l'Angleterre sur le dos de la France," and the French public, realizing that the Emperor's wrath is against

England for enabling France to carry out her Morocco policy, and not against France for taking advantage of her agreement with England, feel that if they keep their heads nothing really serious will come of His Majesty's ill-temper, which they believe is not entirely shared by the German Government, and still less so by the German people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 156.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 32. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, April 27, 1905.*

I ASKED M. Delcassé to-day whether the German Government had made any response to his offers of explanations regarding Morocco.

His Excellency told me that so far they had made no sign whatever.

No. 157.

Mr. Lister to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 22.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, April 27, 1905.*

REFERRING to the reported negotiations between France and Germany respecting Morocco, the Director of the Political Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs tells me that the French Government are awaiting some further communication on the part of Germany.

No reply has been received yet from the German Ambassador to the statement made to him—as well as in the Chamber—by M. Delcassé, that he was prepared to remove any misunderstanding which might exist.

The agitation in the Chamber and press are, in M. Louis' opinion, exaggerated.

There has been no interruption in the progress of French negotiations in Morocco.

No. 158.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir M. Durand.

(No. 50.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, April 27, 1905.*

THERE is at this moment, so far as I am aware, no subject of dispute between Great Britain and Germany, as suggested in your telegram No. 35 of yesterday's date. You can, therefore, so far as we are concerned, safely reassure the President. We have not, and never have had, any idea of attacking Germany, nor do we anticipate that she will be so foolish as to attack us. There is no reason why her relations to us should not be of a friendly character.

I fail to see why any international complications should arise, unless German Government intend to take advantage of what was at most a diplomatic oversight with the object of making mischief or of disturbing the *status quo* by demanding the cession of a Moorish port. We are quite unable to understand why any trouble with regard to Morocco should otherwise occur. In spite of provocative tactics of German Emperor and officials, attitude of French Government is most conciliatory and forbearing. The Anglo-French Agreement contained nothing detrimental to the interests of any other Power.

No. 159.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 28.)

(No. 43.) *Tangier, April* 28, 1905.
(Telegraphic.) P.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 61 to Sir F. Bertie of the 23rd instant, it is considered improbable here that any demand for a port will be presented by the German Minister during his stay at Fez. It would appear that the acquisition of a "sphere of economic influence" is Germany's ultimate idea, and she would be ready to negotiate about this with France at some later period. Now it is manifestly out of the question for her to do this.

As regards the prospect of the French Mission acquiring anything in the present circumstances, the French Chargé d'Affaires appears quite discouraged.

No. 160.

Mr. Spring-Rice to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 277.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 25, 1905.
My Lord,

THE attitude of the Russian press on the subject of the difficulty which has arisen between France and Germany respecting Morocco is somewhat surprising.

It is recognized that Germany waited until the battle of Mukden had decided, for the present at any rate, the superiority of the Japanese arms before making her diplomatic attack on Russia's ally. At the same time the Russian press does not appear to find in this a subject of complaint against Germany, towards whom the attitude of the principal Russian papers continues to be friendly. But the occasion is seized to warn France against the insidious designs of England, who has been attempting to engage her in a conflict with Germany, by which England alone will profit. And stress is laid upon what is considered to be a self-evident fact, namely, that the English alliance, even if England could be counted on, cannot make up to France for the loss, or decay, of the alliance with Russia.

There was at first a tendency to lay the whole blame on M. Delcassé, but it appears to have been finally realized that M. Delcassé was a very valuable friend to Russia, and that his retention in office is desirable from the Russian point of view.

I understand, however, from a gentleman who has lately been seeing several members of the Imperial family, that there is a considerable amount of soreness in those circles as to the open friendliness displayed by Germany to Japan as soon as "she had her Treaty of Commerce in her pocket," and that some sympathy has been expressed for France. My informant added that this feeling of soreness is aggravated by the fact that, owing to the invitation of Prince Arisugawa to the wedding of the Crown Prince, the invitations to the Russian Grand Dukes have not yet been issued.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CECIL SPRING-RICE.

No. 161.

Mr. Spring-Rice to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 281.) *St. Petersburgh, April* 25, 1905.
My Lord,

I LEARN from the Italian Ambassador that about ten days ago he was instructed by his Government to ask the Russian Government whether Germany had requested Russia to join a Conference on the subject of Morocco. Count Lamsdorff had replied that no such proposal had been made to him.

I mentioned the subject to M. Bompard, who informed me that M. Melegari had also sounded Count Lamsdorff as to what answer Russia would return to such a proposal, if made by Germany. This M. Bompard had learnt from Count Lamsdorff. His Italian colleague had not mentioned the matter to him at all, although M. Bompard had led the conversation on to the subject of Morocco on purpose.

M. Bompard went on to say that Russia would probably not be sounded by

Germany as to joining a Conference, on the ground that the Conference would be the continuance of the negotiations of 1884 in which Russia did not join, and that, therefore, her consent to a Conference was not required. This was an ingenious manner of turning the difficulty, for Count Lamsdorff was not by any means inclined to return a favourable answer should Germany apply to the Russian Government.

The Spanish Ambassador has, I understand, made no communication to the Russian Government on the subject of Morocco.

Speaking on the subject generally, M. Bompard told me that M. Delcassé was convinced that Germany was merely seeking a quarrel, and that to volunteer a communication to Germany was only to invite repulse. In spite of his protestations, his colleagues insisted on his making a communication, which had the result he had foreseen, namely, an answer on the part of Germany to the effect that it was a question to be dealt with, not with France, but with Morocco direct. M. Delcassé had then insisted on resigning. The support which he received in the country at large was not what he had expected; some malcontent elements had joined the Socialists, whose main idea was to get rid of the Russian alliance, and of M. Delcassé as its most strenuous supporter. On the other hand, the Moderate and Liberal elements in Germany seemed to afford the Government the same support as the Extreme Conservatives. The situation, said M. Bompard, was complicated. The German Minister would no doubt negotiate a Treaty which would give Germany the right to certain important concessions, *e.g.*, railways, which, again, would give Germany the right to protect them by force. If France objected, there was the whole German army to give effect to German claims not in Morocco, but in the Vosges.

It was clear that the help of Russia could not be depended on for some time to come. The situation in Poland was such that German support was absolutely necessary to Russia, who could not afford to have the least appearance of a quarrel with her Western neighbour. Since the Agreement between France and England, the Russian press had frequently used unpleasant and abusive language about France. In the present incident this attitude had been changed, and the language used was friendly. But, at the same time, it was quite plain that the newspapers had received instructions not to say anything to hurt the feelings of the Germans.

He thought that the Russian Government, while anxious to avoid any dispute with Germany, were willing to do anything that was possible to assist M. Delcassé, but I gathered that the Russian Government, in the present dispute, was, in his opinion, almost a "quantité négligeable."

I have, &c.
(Signed) CECIL SPRING-RICE.

No. 162.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 158. Confidential.) *Paris, April* 27, 1905.
My Lord,

I ASKED M. Delcassé to-day whether there had been any result from the offers which he had made to the German Ambassador and to the German Foreign Office through the French Embassy at Berlin, of explanations in regard to the Morocco policy of the French Government, if there should be anything respecting which the German Government desired to be informed.

His Excellency told me that the German Government had not given any sign whatever of what they wanted. There had been no response to his offers, and he could not understand what objects the German Emperor had in view.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 163.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 161. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, April 28, 1905.*

M. DELCASSÉ, when speaking yesterday on the subject of the attitude of Germany in regard to Morocco, said that it had been alleged in the German press that the French Minister in Morocco had, in his communications with the Moorish Government, represented that France had a mandate to speak for the other Powers. His Excellency said that there was no truth in this allegation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 164.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 119. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April 27, 1905.*

AT his weekly reception of the Ambassadors the day before yesterday, Dr. von Mühlberg told me that the French Ambassador had furnished him with a copy of the statement he had read to him the week before. The German Government would give their careful consideration to this document, but Dr. von Mühlberg did not think it would create any change in the situation, and he still thought that an exchange of views between the Signatory Powers of the Madrid Convention of 1880 would afford the most satisfactory solution of the question. He said that the publication of the Anglo-French Agreement in a Blue or a Yellow Book could not be considered by the German Government as an official communication to them, and he contrasted the attitude of France and England in communicating to the German Government their intentions with regard to Crete, a country in which Germany had declared herself to be disinterested, and in withholding from them an Agreement with regard to Morocco, where German interests undoubtedly existed.

Dr. von Mühlberg, having referred to the reception given to the Emperor at Tangier by the British colony as a proof of their approval of the action of Germany as being in the interest of all the countries who had commercial relations with Morocco, I observed that it was natural that the Anglo-French Agreement should not find favour with the English colony in Morocco any more than with the French colony in Egypt.

M. Bihourd informs me that Dr. von Mühlberg did not discuss the question with him, but confined himself to stating that he had sent the copy of his statement to Count Bülow, who would give it his best attention.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 165.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 69.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April 19, 1905.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I called upon Cid-ben-Said, the Sultan's Acting Commissioner, this afternoon to thank his Excellency for having met me on landing yesterday evening.

After requesting his Excellency to convey some complimentary messages to his Sovereign I assured Cid-ben-Said that it would be my aim to do my utmost to uphold existing Treaties and Conventions, and I referred to the recent Anglo-French Agreement which I said had in certain quarters been construed as an attempt to impair the authority of the Sultan and to be an attack on His Majesty's sovereignty, but that His Britannic Majesty's Government regards it entirely in the opposite light, and rather as opening up a new era of prosperity and security which it was to be hoped would result in an increase in the commerce of the country to the benefit of all.

Cid-ben-Said replied that any agreement come to between Great Britain and France did not concern them, the sole anxiety of the Moorish Government being to restore tranquillity and security to the country. Cid-ben-Said not being a person of much authority I let this observation pass without further remark.

Before leaving I told his Excellency that it was the earnest desire of my Government that the cordial relations which had always existed between my predecessor and the Moorish Government should continue, and I expressed the hope that in my dealings with his Government I should meet with the same friendliness as Sir A. Nicolson had. His Excellency replied that that would doubtless be so, and he hoped that I would be the means of increasing and strengthening the relations of friendship so long existing between the two Governments.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 166.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 70.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April 20, 1905.*

HIS MAJESTY'S Consul at Dar-al-Baida reports that there was great excitement at that town on the 17th instant owing to a demonstration made against it by a body of men from the neighbouring tribes, whose intention was said to be to demand the lives or persons of certain Jews in revenge for the death of a Moor recently killed by a Jew in a drunken brawl and the release of four of their brethren who had been in prison for about four years on the charge of having murdered a Jew.

As it was feared that, though the tribesmen would probably not succeed in effecting an entry into the town, there might be some danger of looting by people inside the town, His Majesty's Consul, in concert with some of his colleagues, informed the Governor of Dar-al-Baida that they held him responsible for the general safety of the town, and requested that, should he not be able to guarantee their security, they might be informed, in order that they might consider what measures they should adopt. The Governor replied that there were no grounds for uneasiness as he had taken all necessary precautions.

The town walls were manned and the cannon were loaded and trained on the hostile tribesmen, whilst negotiations were in progress between them and the Governor.

In the evening the tribes withdrew, and the Governor informed His Majesty's Consul that all difficulties had been arranged and that there was no further cause for anxiety.

It is said at Dar-al-Baida that the Governor paid to the tribesmen a sum of 200 dollars and made certain promises, but it is not known for certain what the terms of the arrangement really were.

Mr. Consul Maclean adds that, owing to the failure of the crops, the country-people are unoccupied and there is consequently a certain amount of unrest in the country, robberies being frequent in the neighbourhood of the town.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 167.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 71.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April 21, 1905.*

I HAVE received from His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Fez a copy of the Minute made by the Moorish authorities of the second and third meetings between the French Minister and the Viziers and Council of Notables. It is not necessary to trouble your Lordship with a translation *in extenso* of these documents, which are long and involved, but I have the honour to transmit herewith summaries of their contents, which embody all the points of interest.

As reported in Mr. White's despatch No. 29 of the 3rd ultimo, M. Saint-René Taillandier at the first meeting stated the broad outlines of his various proposals, whilst at the second and subsequent meetings he developed and explained his proposals in detail.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 167.

Précis of Proposals of French Minister to Moorish Government.

FRENCH Minister, being asked to give details on all the reforms proposed, said that these details must be given at an audience with His Shereefian Majesty, but on the Council pointing out that they had been charged by the Sultan to examine the proposals, M. Taillandier consented to give a general statement, viz.:—

Army Reforms.—The French Minister pointed out that the places in Morocco most in need of organization in this respect were those where European commerce existed, *i.e.*, the coast towns and the Algerian frontier. It was specially important that European merchants should have security for their lives and property, and the garrisons at the various ports are not at present in a condition to insure this. M. Taillandier expatiated at some length on the insecurity existing both on the frontier and at the ports. Tangier, he said, which was formerly perfectly safe, was now practically in a state of siege. Certain Europeans had been seized by rebels, and, though protests had been made by the Powers to the Moorish Government, there was no security. Tangier was a particularly important port, as Foreign Representatives resided there. Further, it was necessary that all the ports should have a force sufficient to enforce Government authority; he gave instances of the insecurity existing at Arzila, Laraiche, and Daralbaida. Again, after the capture of Mr. Perdicaris, the punitive force sent contented itself with pillaging on its own account. Returning to the subject of the Algerian frontier, M. Taillandier referred to the trouble caused to the French Government by the dis rders existing thereon. At Figuig, for example, there were French merchants and European guards; about seventy of these had been murdered in recent times. The French Government were obliged to keep a force of some 30,000 troops, at a cost of some 40,000,000 fr. annually, and there would be a limit to their patience. M. Taillandier pointed out the advantages that had accrued to the Moorish Government from the Agreement which had been come to respecting the frontier, and added that it was the want of organization of the Moorish troops, and the danger on the frontier arising therefrom, which necessitated the French occupying Figuig.

He then gave details of the reforms most urgently required for the army. The soldiers must be paid regularly, and be fed and quartered; pay must be according to rank; faults must be punished; the sick must be properly cared for, deserters found and brought back, and the roll of each regiment to be called quarterly. It was only the absence of proper pay and feeding which caused the troops to desert and sell their arms. Suitable sites should be found and barracks erected for the troops. The French Government were prepared to provide from among their Mahommedan subjects suitable men to drill and organize the army.

M. Taillandier proposed that the force to be selected should not be large in numbers, but that over each hundred men there should be a competent Algerian officer, except in the case of the artillery, where there would be two Algerians over each hundred. The Captain of each hundred would be assisted by a sergeant and an orderly. Over each regiment there would be one French officer.

In the case of the regiment to be organized in Tangier, there would be four French officers, with a secretary, attached. The total would be about 1,500, with fifteen Moorish and twenty-seven Algerian officers.

As at Tangier, a sufficient force should also be raised at Oojdah, Figuig, and elsewhere. There could obviously be no prejudice in this to Mahommedan feeling. The French officers must superintend the payment, feeding, and clothing of the troops. The object of these proposals is merely to incure the security of the country and strengthen the Moorish Government; furthermore, the appointment of Algerians is proposed so as not to excite the susceptibilities of the Moors.

The Frenchmen to be appointed would be under the Moorish Government and should obey that Government in all questions concerning the army.

The pay of the soldiers is to be about 1½ pesetas per diem, and when food is provided it shall be deducted from their pay.

The infantry privates to be of two classes, the higher to receive 1¾ pesetas, the lower 1½ pesetas per diem.

Subalterns to be of two ranks, the higher to receive 2¾ pesetas, the lower 2 pesetas.

Captains each to receive 1 dollar, reduction to be made from all for food.

Colonels to be of three ranks: 4 dollars, 3 dollars, and 2 dollars each.

The Amins, who will attend to the payment of the troops, to be of two ranks, receiving 2 dollars and 3 dollars respectively. Each Amin to have two assistants, receiving 1½ dollars and 1 dollar respectively.

There shall be one chief of the French instructors, at a salary of 150,000 fr. [? 15,000 fr.], and the other officers, according to their rank, at 7,000 fr., 8,000 fr., and 9,000 fr.

Inclosure 2 in No. 167.

Précis of Minutes of the Meeting of the French Minister with the Viziers and Council of Notables on April 5, 1905.

THE meeting opened at 2·7 P.M.

The French Minister stated that he had already mentioned to the Sultan the various suggestions he was now about to make. They were of a reasonable and simple character and could not give rise to any harm, and he must request that effect be given to them, his object being to secure greater security and tranquillity in the country, and the prosperity of the people and merchants as well as of the Government.

He proposed to maintain the Administration on its present lines, introducing improvements in its details.

The revenues of the Government are small, the only ready money at present at their disposal being 2,500,000 fr. remaining from the loan, and the balance of customs duties and internal taxes. This will not be sufficient for the purpose, and the "tertib." or rural taxes, cannot at present be collected; it was therefore necessary to discover other means of increasing the revenue.

The most important portion of the revenues was derived from the ports, and it was to them one must look for the increase. Fraud was at present practised at the custom-houses by foreign merchants and their associates, goods being sometimes introduced with payment of little or no duty. This was known to the Moorish Government, and the agents at the various custom-houses of the representatives of the bondholders of the recent loan were instructed to give their attention to this matter. It was necessary that they should examine the accounts of the administrators before passing them, but they were not permitted to do so. The Government had sent Amin-el-Mukri to the ports to make an investigation, and this want of control and consequent loss of revenue had been explained to him by the French Minister and the representative of the bondholders. The representative of the bondholders should be permitted to exercise the right of investigation at the custom-houses accorded to him under the loan contract. Fraud would thus be prevented and the Customs revenues doubled. Regulations should be made by the Moorish Government and Foreign Representatives for preventing fraud and punishing those guilty of it, similar to the regulations existing in other countries. For instance, merchants should be required to present signed declarations of all goods shipped or received by them, and if the goods be found to be not in accordance with the declaration they shall be confiscated and the merchants punished.

Merchants had at present just cause of complaint in various respects, *e.g.* :—

The lighter service is inefficient. There are not enough lighters, and at some ports there are no steam-launches to tow the lighters, whilst at others the Captain of the Port does not attend to his duties. Great injury is suffered by Steam-ship Companies and merchants in consequence, and certain Steam-ship Companies propose to bring their own lighters, as they would be entitled to do under the Treaties if the service is not improved. This would cause loss to the Government, and questions would arise between the foreign crews and Moorish sailors. The remedy is simple: the lighter service at each port should be put upon a proper footing and regulations made.

Jetties should be built at the ports. At Tangier goods are at present conveyed from the lighters to the shore by porters, thus causing delay and damage to the goods. There should be a small jetty, so that the lighters could come alongside and discharge

their contents by a crane. The cost would be small, and the jetty dues would cover the cost and the interest, and would further benefit the Government by leading to increased trade and revenue.

The French Government desire the Moorish Government to retain the administration of the port in their own hands, and to grant concessions for such works to foreigners. They should be built by contract at the expense of the Moorish Government, and the cost, together with the interest, would be paid off by the dues, and the profits would thus go to the Government instead of the foreign contractors.

The storage accommodation at the ports is at present insufficient. The Government should build the necessary stores, and should make regulations appointing a limited term during which goods could be left in deposit there on payment of dues. There is at present great confusion owing to the quantity of goods accumulated in the stores. Merchants should be given a receipt for their goods deposited in the stores.

A submarine telegraph cable is required to connect all the ports; it is necessary for the purposes of trade, and will also be of advantage to the Government, who would thereby receive early news of what is passing. The French Government is prepared to lay such a cable, as they have done at Tangier, but they would prefer that the Moorish Government should do it with their assistance.

In regard to the question of administration, the Government should be careful in its selection of Governors for the ports. They should be capable men and not avaricious. It is desired to allow the Moorish Government the fullest freedom to appoint or remove Governors, but it is hoped they will select suitable men, and not continually change them, as has been done at Daralbaida lately, as their authority and that of the Government is thereby diminished.

Police forces should be established at each town in proportion to its needs. They should be composed of Moors under two instructors, of whom one would be a Frenchman and the other a Mahommedan. These instructors would leave when their services were no longer necessary. Such forces would be very useful, and would also assist in the detection of smuggling.

The French Minister said he had spoken about the ports as, although the country is disturbed, it was necessary to introduce reforms at the ports where Europeans reside. He still had to deal with the subject of finances and the means of obtaining funds for organizing the army, whereby the collection of the rural taxes would be facilitated. There would then remain only one point—a most important one—viz., the security of the Algerian frontier. The matters he had hitherto spoken of concerned all foreigners, but the frontier question concerned the French Government alone. The frontiers and the rights of the two nations were established by agreement, which contained stipulations binding on each party. The French Government had observed those in regard to themselves, but the Moorish Government have disregarded their obligations. He would not, however, now say anything further on this subject.

The meeting closed at 5·50 P.M.

No. 168.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 1.)

(No. 72.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April* 21, 1905.

WITH reference to Mr. White's despatch No. 59 of the 9th instant, I have the honour to report that Dr. Vassel, the German Vice-Consul at Fez, has had a further conversation with Mr. Hastings, Assistant to Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod, on the subject of the rebuilding of the old English Mole at Tangier.

Dr. Vassel stated that contractors were the German firm Messrs. Borgeaud, Reutemann, and Co., of Tangier, and the Mole was to be rebuilt at the expense of the Moorish Government, the contractors being willing to undertake the work on credit, as any sum of money could at present be raised in Germany for enterprise in Morocco.

Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod has spoken on the subject to the French Minister, who considered it probable that the matter had as yet gone no farther than that permission had been granted to the German firm to examine the site and to prepare plans and estimates.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 169.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 1.)

(No. 73.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April* 21, 1905.

HIS Majesty's Vice-Consul at Fez informs me that the French Vice-Consul has inquired of him whether he had any confirmation of a report which the French Minister had heard that Mr. White had made to your Lordship regarding an application of the Sultan to the German Government for officers to instruct the Moorish army, and that he had replied that he had no information on the subject.

Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod subsequently mentioned the matter privately to Major Ogilvy, who said he had himself suspected that the Sultan might have had such an idea, and had inquired of Dr. Vassel whether the German Government had any intention of consenting to any arrangement of that nature, and that he had assured him in reply that they had no intention of doing anything whatsoever in regard to the army.

Mr. MacLeod communicated the foregoing to M. Saint-René Taillandier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 170.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 1.)

(No. 74.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April* 22, 1905.

I TOOK an opportunity of asking the French Chargé d'Affaires if he had ascertained anything regarding the approaching German Mission to Fez, and as to what line Count Tattenbach intended to pursue. Comte de Chérisey said that he had been struck by the fact that, when the Mission was first on the tapis, both the German Minister and his Secretary had been very communicative, but that now they had adopted an attitude of extreme reserve. This he attributed to the probable fact that Count Tattenbach was still without instructions, and that it was rather an afterthought on the part of the German Emperor and his Government to give a markedly political significance to the Mission.

Comte de Chérisey said that he felt convinced that the German Emperor, who was credited with the nightmare of the "yellow peril," appreciated that the result of the present war would be that German interests in China would suffer, and that it was consequently his duty to direct the interests of his countrymen into the channel of a Colonial policy in Africa. We must consequently be prepared for some very active policy on the part of Germany here.

There was no doubt that the German Mission would be an obstacle, and M. Saint-René Taillandier and Comte de Chérisey were very pleased to hear that there was a prospect of my going to Fez to counteract in a measure that influence.

From all I hear the visit of the German Emperor has no doubt encouraged the Sultan in his opposition to the French proposals. It must be remembered that His Majesty was the first Sovereign to pay a visit in state to Morocco.

Then, again, apart from the French and ourselves, all nationalities here have looked with favour upon the visit and its possibly beneficial results to their own interests, the foreign Representatives themselves making no concealment of the fact that German action may eventually conduce to their advantage. The Spaniards, who form by far the largest number of the foreigners here, finding themselves ousted by the French, naturally approve, although the attitude of their Minister has been very correct.

These ideas cannot fail to have found their way into Moorish circles, and thence to the Court, which will certainly not make the task of the French Minister any easier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 171.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May 2.*)

(No. 75.)

Tangier, April 22, 1905.

My Lord,

I ASKED the French Chargé d'Affaires to-day if he had any recent news as to the progress of the French Mission at Fez, and he seemed rather discouraged at the slow progress that was made. He said that actually the Minister had obtained nothing in writing, though the military part of the programme was in a fair way of settlement.

This included the establishment of a properly organized military force under French control and with the assistance of some Algerian non-commissioned officers and soldiers at Tangier, Dar-al-Baïda, Rabat, and Oujdah. He thought the French Minister would be satisfied if he could get this point settled before the arrival of the German Mission, and, this being arranged, he might leave the remainder of his programme until the autumn, but in no case would he come away before the German Minister left Fez.

I suggested to him that perhaps the financial question was of equal importance, but he replied that he did not think that German financiers could be persuaded to offer better terms than the recent French Loan, by the terms of which the Moorish Government was bound not to contract with any other country except under more favourable conditions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 172

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May 2.*)

(No. 76.)

Tangier, April 26, 1905.

My Lord,

IN view of my approaching visit to Fez, I would be glad to know if there are any matters which your Lordship would wish me to especially bring to the notice of the Moorish Government.

I presume that my action should be confined to the presentation of Sir A. Nicolson's letters of recall, to the delivery of my credentials, and to giving a general support to the proposals which, during the course of his sojourn at the Court, the French Minister has been making to the Sultan. I might also press upon the Moorish Government the settlement of the claims of British subjects which have been outstanding for a long time, though, with the present depleted condition of the Exchequer, there is but little hope of the claims being settled.

I would propose to leave Mr. Herbert White in charge of the Legation here, but would observe that he is forbidden by his medical advisers to remain here in the hot weather, and when he is obliged to leave Mr. Wyldbore Smith might take charge of the Legation.

If the condition of the country permits of it, I propose to travel by land from here.

I beg leave to propose that the Mission be composed as follows:—

Mr. Ovey, Mr. Irwin, Mr. Bristow, two officers, and a medical officer.

I do not think it would be desirable to reduce the number of the staff, or to be much inferior to the German Mission which is about to start, as this would probably produce adverse comment on the part of the Moors.

I understand the German Mission is to consist of ten persons.

I have already informed the Sultan that I am proceeding to Fez, and expect to be able to start in about three weeks.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER

No. 173.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 258.)

Foreign Office, May 3, 1905.

Sir,

I HAD a long conversation to-day with the French Ambassador upon the Morocco question. His Excellency, who had just returned from Paris, said that the French Government was entirely unable to understand the attitude which the German Government had lately taken up. It might be due to momentary irritation on the part of the German Emperor, or, on the other hand, might point to the desire of the German Government to press for special advantages in Morocco. It could, however, certainly not be justified upon the ground that Germany had been kept in the dark with regard to the Anglo-French Agreement and its effects upon the position of France in Morocco. On the 27th March of last year—more than a fortnight before the signature of the Declaration—Prince Radolin had questioned M. Delcassé upon the subject of the negotiations then proceeding between Great Britain and France. M. Delcassé had admitted that such negotiations were in progress. Prince Radolin had asked whether they had reference to Morocco, and M. Delcassé had answered in the affirmative, adding that they were based upon the recognition of the *status quo* in that country, and upon complete commercial liberty. A report of this conversation had been furnished at the time to the French Ambassador at Berlin.

After the signature of the Declaration, on the 12th and 14th April, 1904, Count Bülow had made a speech upon the subject in the Reichstag, in the course of which he had said that he could see nothing prejudicial to German interests in the Agreement, those interests being mainly of a commercial character. Prince Radolin had afterwards met M. Delcassé, and had told him distinctly that he could see nothing detrimental to German interests in the Agreement, which M. Delcassé did not, therefore, think it necessary to notify officially to Germany. Then came the publication of the documents in this country and in France, and their presentation to Parliament.

The German Government were given a further opportunity of expressing their opinion in October, when, as I would remember, the French Government was negotiating with that of Spain a separate Agreement as to Morocco. This Agreement was actually communicated to the German Government, and Baron Richthofen had told the French Ambassador that he presumed that under it commercial liberty would be fully respected. The French Ambassador had replied in the affirmative, and had telegraphed to M. Delcassé asking permission to make a formal announcement upon this point. M. Delcassé had authorized such an announcement, and had referred specially to the 4th Article of the Agreement as bearing upon the point at issue. No further objection was made by Baron Richthofen.

Besides all this, the German Government had given its adhesion to the new Khedivial Decree, which formed an integral part of the Anglo-French Agreement, and could not be treated apart from the other provisions embodied in it.

When M. Delcassé became aware that the German Government, or the German Emperor, intended to make a grievance out of the Morocco affair, he announced in the Senate on the 31st March, and in the Chamber on the 19th April, that he was ready to supply explanations if there was any *malentendu* with regard to Morocco, and M. Rouvier had used similar language. M. Delcassé had, soon after this, dined with Prince Radolin, and had gone out of his way to speak to him about Morocco, asking him what this *polémique* in the press meant, and reminding him that he had already spoken to him upon the subject in the month of March. Prince Radolin had replied that he had no instructions, and could not be got to say anything. The French Ambassador at Berlin had also been instructed to offer explanations, and had offered them to M. Mühlberg, the other members of the German Foreign Office being absent. That gentleman had replied that there was no misunderstanding, and had suggested that the whole question might well be discussed by a European Conference.

Altogether, the conduct of the German Government appeared to his Excellency quite incomprehensible. It might be the outcome of a *mouvement irréfléchi* on the part of the German Emperor, or, more probably, of an attempt to get rid of M. Delcassé—an attempt which had signally failed. There was a third possibility, namely, that the German Government hoped to avail themselves of this opportunity in order to obtain possession of a port on the Moorish coast. It was rather remarkable, his Excellency said, that two years ago a son of the German Ambassador at Madrid had, in the course

of an after-dinner conversation, announced that Germany intended to ask for the cession of Mogador.

His Excellency expressed great satisfaction at the intimation which had been made by you to M. Delcassé, in compliance with the instructions contained in my telegram No. 61 of the 23rd ultimo. For the present, he said, all we could do was to watch events, and the French Government would not fail to keep us fully informed of any new developments which might take place.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 174.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir M. de Bunsen.

(No. 24.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 3, 1905.

THE Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires informed me to-day that the German Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon had made a statement to the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs to the following effect:—

The German Government had received no communication, either verbal or written, of the Anglo-French Agreement, but had taken no action because they saw in the Agreement every indication of a desire on the part of the parties to it to maintain the *status quo* and to respect the economical interests of the other Powers. Lately, however, two events had occurred which led the German Government to consider that its interests were threatened, and they had therefore suggested that a Conference, similar to that held at Madrid in 1850, was desirable.

I asked M. Manoel whether he could tell me what the events were to which the German Chargé d'Affaires had referred. He was unable to answer my question. I said that His Majesty's Government had been unable to discover any sufficient reasons for convoking a Conference such as that suggested.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 175.

Sir C Phipps to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 42. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Brussels, May* 3, 1905.

I UNDERSTAND that shortly after the signature of the Anglo-French Convention of the 8th April, 1904, the French Government, having learnt that the new Belgian Minister at Tangier was proceeding to Fez, instructed M. Gérard to press that instructions should be sent to M. de Buisseret from Brussels that he should place himself in communication with the French Chargé d'Affaires then at Fez, and that he should act in accordance with the terms of the Convention.

M. Gérard, having learnt from M. de Favereau that M. de Buisseret was to apply for a fishing concession on the Morocco Coast, explained that such concession could not be exclusive, as Spain had already enjoyed fishing rights, but that the Belgian Minister might obtain an authorization for fishing rights. He suggested that the Society or Company applying for the authorization might be made Franco-Belgian, or even, if necessary, French, so as to secure the co-operation of the French Legation. This was accordingly arranged, and the well-known M. Empain having been interested in the matter, I understand the authorization to have been obtained.

Before I learnt from my French colleague these details, I referred, in conversation with M. de Favereau, to the subject, stating that I understood the Belgian Legation to have applied for a concession in Morocco through the intermediary of the French Legation. His Excellency presented the matter somewhat differently, admitting that the concession, being one in which French capital was engaged, it was natural that it should have been thus applied for.

I learn that recently, during a conversation with the Spanish Minister, M. de Favereau held language to the effect that the German theory of a complete "open door" in matters affecting the development of Morocco was one which was eminently advantageous to the interests of Belgium, a country which embarked such a considerable

amount of its large surplus capital in remote countries as yet undeveloped, and which was desirous to find in them an outlet for its commercial energy. Such a view of the situation has indeed been put forward in a series of articles in a newspaper regarded as enjoying official inspiration.

But I think my French colleague would resent any attempt to depart from the understanding arrived at with the Belgian Government, that any concessions or advantages should be obtained through the French Legation, and he seems to regard that understanding as a precise one and susceptible of no misapprehension.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CONSTANTINE PHIPPS.

No. 176.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 5.)

(No. 72. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Madrid, April* 22, 1905.

THE French Ambassador communicated to me this morning the substance of a series of despatches and telegrams which he had received by messenger from Paris, and he drew my attention to a point which appeared to him singular in a despatch from the French Ambassador at St. Petersburgh. The latter had informed M. Delcassé that the Russian Government had been approached in regard to the convocation of a Conference by the Italian Ambassador, and apparently no allusion had been made to that subject by the German Ambassador.

M. Cambon reverted to a subject which he had previously mentioned to me, and in regard to which I had on previous occasions understood he had been in communication with M. Delcassé. He had formerly given me to understand that the French Ambassador at Berlin was not in very close or skilful touch with the Berlin authorities; and he repeated how advantageous it would be if Sir F. Lascelles, who enjoyed a special position in the confidence of the German Emperor, could privately speak to His Majesty on the difficulties which had arisen, and suggest that the mission of Count Tattenbach should be postponed during any *pourparlers* which might take place between Paris and Berlin. M. Cambon asked me to mention this suggestion to your Lordship, and, after some hesitation, I said that I would do so. It seems to me that the proposal should travel by a more direct and authoritative route than by Madrid, but as this was the third occasion on which M. Cambon had alluded to it, I could not well refuse his request.

M. Cambon, who, as your Lordship is doubtless aware, was once Governor of Algeria, said that he considered that a change should be made in the military administration on the Algerian frontier, which, as at present constituted, led to a certain friction and misunderstanding between the Algerian Government and the French Legation at Tangier. He thought it would be a great advantage if Governor Liotet, who commanded on the frontier districts, should pass over into Morocco and be nominally in the service of the Sultan, and organize a mixed corps of Algerians and Moors to keep order and suppress the rebellion in those parts. He would thus be in close touch with the Legation, and be able to act on behalf of the Sultan.

I did not express any definite opinion on this project, as it appeared to me one requiring careful consideration, and, moreover, a matter solely for the French and the Sultan to decide between themselves. I merely remarked that it seemed to me that General Liotet was of too high a rank and was too conspicuous a person for such a duty.

M. Cambon leaves to-night for Paris on a short visit, and will no doubt speak to M. Delcassé on the above matters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 177.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 5.)

(No. 74.)

My Lord, *Madrid, April* 27, 1905.

I INQUIRED of the Minister for Foreign Affairs this afternoon whether he had received any recent news from Morocco, especially with regard to the German Mission to Fez. His Excellency replied that he had no news of any interest to communicate to me, and that since the refusal of the Spanish Government to fall in with the views of Germany as to a Conference, Count Tattembach had become reserved in his relations with the Spanish Minister at Tangier. M de Villaurrutia added that the German Ambassador had recently spoken to him in regard to Moorish affairs, and had limited his remarks to a statement that his Government, now that a Conference did not appear likely, would probably address themselves to each Power individually. His Excellency had again repeated that Germany would never tolerate France establishing a protectorate in Morocco such as she had instituted in Tunis.

I asked M. de Villaurrutia whether M. de Radowitz had given any indication of the objects of the Mission of Count Tattembach, and whether he had heard of any inclination on the part of Germany to secure some concessions from the Moorish Government of an important nature. His Excellency said that M. de Radowitz had been brief in his allusions to Morocco, and had made no reference to the German Mission to Fez.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 178.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 5.)

(No 77.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April* 28, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to report that I hear from Fez that the negotiations between the French Minister and the Makhzen are at a deadlock, and the latter will certainly defer giving an answer to the French proposals until the German Mission is in Fez, and it appears to be expected that the replies will be most unfavourable.

There have been rumours that the French Minister intended to instal himself at Fez until his proposals had, to some extent, been accepted, but the French Chargé d'Affaires tells me that there has never been any serious question of this.

The German Minister here has laid much stress on the fact that he does not propose to ask for anything from the Sultan on this occasion, asserting that it would be courting adverse criticism, and that Germany would lay herself open to charges of dishonesty were she now, after the opposition which she has made to the French proposals, to endeavour to get some concessions on her own account, but at the same time his Excellency has insinuated that Germany intends to play her own cards as regards Morocco.

I understand that a General, a Colonel, and the German Military Attaché in Madrid, and a medical officer are to be attached to Count Tattenbach's Mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 179.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 5.)

(No. 78. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, April* 28, 1905.

I WENT to-day to wish Count Tattenbach *bon voyage*, as he is leaving on Monday or Tuesday next for Fez, and I told him that I should be shortly following him. He eagerly took advantage of the occasion to expound the German position in the present situation in this country, and made no concealment of the fact that he would leave no stone unturned to upset the entire programme of reform proposed by the French Minister.

Although much of Count Tattenbach's language is the same as that held by him to Mr. White, as reported in his despatch No. 64, Confidential, and the views of the German Government have probably been reported from other quarters, yet I venture to record the German position as explained to me by Count von Tattenbach, of which he made no secret whatever.

Germany had been a signatory of the Madrid Convention of 1880, which, in Article XVII, laid down that the right of the most-favoured-nation treatment was recognized by Morocco for all the Signatory Powers.

France, without consulting Germany, a large State on her very frontier, with growing commercial interests here, had concluded with Great Britain a Convention by which she practically took charge of this country, and made no attempt to communicate this instrument to Germany.

Germany was a growing country, while France was the reverse, and Germany required the "open door" wherever it was possible that it should be kept open.

With more vehemence than I have been accustomed to with diplomatists in general, Count Tattenbach maintained that this was a slight and a *manque d'égards* which the German Government could not tolerate. Even if the Government had wished to do so, public opinion in Germany was in no mood to accept the situation, and he entirely indorsed the policy of his Government, and, indeed, would have asked to be excused from accepting this Mission to Fez, if it had not been one of unqualified opposition to the French.

German trade was improving here, and they insisted upon the "open door," though his Excellency laid much more stress on the slight they had received than the possible blow to their commerce.

I said that I had no authority to speak on the subject, nor had I any instructions as to my action at Fez, but it seemed to me that, if Germany had a grievance against France, Fez was not a suitable place to ventilate it, and I thought it a pity that they should obstruct that part of the French programme which had in view the establishment of greater security in the country. It was a monstrous thing that, at the very gates of Tangier, there was no security of life and property, and I feared that his action at Fez would only encourage the lawless inhabitants to further misdeeds.

Count Tattenbach interrupted me by saying that, as I had only recently arrived, and consequently knew nothing of the country, I could not appreciate the fact that troops drilled by and under the orders of French officers would aggravate rather than allay the danger, and that to re-establish a real state of security in the country would, at the present moment, require an armed force of 40,000 men, as, owing to the large contraband importation of arms into this country, every villager was armed. This France could not afford to embark upon without endangering her whole military defence. He regarded the present situation as one of those bad crises through which most countries have to pass. This was unfortunately in a large measure due to the incapacity of the present Ruler, and he saw no hope of betterment during his reign, but it would right itself in time, and we should return to the happy days when Sir John Drummond Hay was Minister here.

To Count Tattenbach and his Government, it seemed that the obvious solution would have been a conference of the Signatory Powers of the Convention of Madrid; but, as this had not been welcomed by the majority of the Powers, Germany had no alternative but to look after her own interests.

Count Tattenbach then asked me what success I thought the French Minister would have at Fez, to which I replied that, being, as he so properly observed, quite ignorant of the country, I preferred to reserve my opinion until I became better acquainted with it, but that I could not refrain from expressing the hope that something would be done which would establish security and redound to the advantage of all foreigners here, while not injuriously affecting their commercial interests.

His Excellency concluded by saying that it was a pleasure to be able to speak openly and frankly to me, and he certainly intended to "mettre les bâtons dans les roues des Français."

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 180.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 5.)

(No. 79.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April* 29, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 71 of the 21st instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith a précis of the Minutes, translated from Arabic, of the fourth meeting of the French Minister with the Viziers and Council of Notables, when the question of the maintenance of order on the Algerian frontier was dealt with.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

Inclosure in No. 180.

Précis of Minutes of Meeting of April 11, 1905.

(Translation.)

THE meeting opened at 2·30 P.M.

Frontier Question.—The French Minister said that this was a serious question, which especially concerned France, owing to its position in Algeria. It was on this account that, in the recent Agreements of Great Britain and Spain with France, those countries recognized that it appertained especially to France to assist the Moorish Government in restoring order in this country, and in certain other matters. These Agreements were entered into in a spirit friendly towards Morocco, and were duly communicated to the Moorish Government. The French Government will fulfil its obligations in regard to them.

In the Treaty of 1845 the frontier was laid down between Ajerood and Teniet Sassi; beyond the latter point the frontier was not delimitated, but certain "ksours" (fortified villages) were mentioned as belonging to each side, Figuig and Aishe being recognized as Moorish. The country beyond, being "sahara" (desert) was not taken into account, nor assigned to either side.

It was pointed out to the French Minister that there was a stipulation that the country in question was to be for the benefit of both parties as pasture land.

The French Minister stated that the people of Algeria had spread into that district, and it was desired to connect the district of Sangar with Algeria. Matters had remained thus until the recent Moorish Mission went to France, and asked that the frontier be delimitated beyond Teniet Sassi. An Agreement was made as the complement of that of 1845. Subsequently a Political and Commercial Agreement was entered into, and later on another Agreement providing for the organization of a military force to be stationed on the frontier.

The principal object attained by the Paris Agreement was the delimitation of the frontier from Teniet Sassi to the Sahara, which the French Government agreed to. It was also arranged that claims for aggressions on the frontier should be settled on the spot, instead of being referred to the Court for settlement as formerly.

By the Algerian Agreement the Moorish Government undertook to establish a force to be stationed at posts on the frontier, the French Government engaging to afford such assistance as was possible to strengthen the authority of the Moorish Government in those districts. The procedure in this respect was settled by the Commercial Agreement. It was stipulated that the Moorish force on the frontier should not exceed 2,000 men unless by consent of the French Government. Places on the frontier were also appointed for the holding of markets. In the Paris Agreement the French Government recognized that the Sahara was in the Moorish sphere of influence, whereas in the old Treaties there was no mention of this. The French Government has shown its sincerity in recognizing the Sultan's influence in those regions and the independence of the Moorish Government. It has duly fulfilled its obligations under the Treaties, whereas the Moorish Government has, as yet, shown no signs of fulfilling its obligations. Thus the French Government, contrary to the usual practice of nations, has permitted Moorish troops and munitions of war to pass through its territory, and has lent military instructors to increase the efficiency of the Sultan's troops on the frontier. It is difficult, however, for the French Government to continue to grant these facilities, as much damage is done by the Moorish soldiers, who receive no pay, and are, consequently, insubordinate. The first two detachments sent to Figuig deserted, and fled to Beni Ounif, whence they were brought back by officers of the Algerian army.

There seemed no prospect of the Moorish Government being able to secure order and security on the frontier, where the Pretender is still in power and Bu Amama giving trouble. The insurrection may now be distant from Fez, but it is near Tlemcen, and even if the French Government were to lend material assistance by sending troops, it would merely drive the insurrection back towards Fez, owing to the impotence of the Moorish Government.

The French Government is put to great expense by this state of affairs, and there are important claims to be settled for damage by raids into Algerian territory, regarding which no reply even has been received from the Moorish officials on the frontier. Besides these claims for pillage there are the following matters: A boy was murdered in the sight of his parents; an Algerian caravan was pillaged and a sergeant killed; postal couriers have been murdered; the guards on the road have been attacked at different times, 60 of them being killed; 10,000 sheep were robbed; 5,000 Berbers, under the Shereef Mulai Mustafa, attacked the walled village of Tagheet on Algerian territory and laid siege to it for some days, many Algerians being killed; a force marching from Jenen-ed-Dar to Tagheet was attacked, and 97 Frenchmen were killed with all their officers; two captains were killed near Zoubia. The French Government is unable to do anything, as they cannot follow up these people to their places of refuge on Moorish territory. Trade has suffered to the detriment of Morocco as well as Algeria. The French Government has kept its Algerian subjects quiet in face of these provocations, by promising them that the Moorish Government would make reparation, but time passes, and the Moorish Government does not fulfil its obligations nor settle these claims, which now amount to nearly 2,000,000 francs, and the Algerian Government is complaining to the French Government because satisfaction has not been afforded.

It is evident that it is difficult for the Moorish Government to maintain order between Ajeroud and Teniet Sassi, and much more so between Teniet Sassi and Igli. The Algerian Government requests that it should be charged to maintain order between Teniet Sassi and Ajeroud, which it will do between its own posts and the Melouia, and from Teniet Sassi to Igli, extending its sphere up to a point sufficient to enable it to punish the perpetrators of these acts. (These claims were put forward by the Algerian Government when the French Minister was in Paris, and he did his utmost to put them off by promising that the Moorish Government would do what was necessary. Nothing, however, has been done, and the Algerian Government has lost patience and wishes to resort to force, the matter being still under the consideration of the French Government.)

Being asked whether the purport of his request was that the Moorish Government should undertake this, or was it that the French Government had fulfilled its obligation and was waiting for the Moorish Government to fulfil theirs on their own territory, but that they had done nothing, and the Algerian Government was becoming impatient, and asks that it should be permitted itself to maintain order from Melouia to Teniet Sassi, and from thence to Igli, without hindrance, to such distance westwards (?) as may be necessary to punish the guilty. He added that this was what he had heard, and it was a warning; the matter was under the consideration of his Government, but he had not yet received instructions on the subject from his Government, and it was on that account that he had wished to defer speaking on the subject of the frontier, and had merely done so in deference to their request, and had informed them of what he knew.

The sitting closed at 4·10 P.M.

No. 181.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 5.)

(No. 80.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April* 30, 1905.

FOR some time past it has been generally believed that the brigand Raisuli had been named Basha of the country round Tangier comprising the district up to the very walls of the city, though it has not been possible for any of the foreign Representatives to obtain an admission of the fact from the Representative of the Government here.

Two days ago it was reported that an order had been communicated to Raisuli by

the Kaïd of the Mahalla, the Commander of the troops sent by the Sultan, that he was to withdraw from the immediate neighbourhood of Tangier and leave that district to the Basha of Tangier.

This was presumably done to avoid complications with foreign Legations, as some of Raisuli's men had been presuming to exercise authority over foreign subjects.

I have now received a report, which appears to be trustworthy, to the effect that Raisuli, in reply to the message that he was to be deprived of part of his sphere of authority, stated that he had no intention of withdrawing, and increased the number of his men stationed at the walls of the town and sent down some extra rifles.

To this the Kaïd of the Mahalla replied that he was convinced that there was some mistake, and that he would immediately communicate Raisuli's message to the Sultan.

This furnishes a fair object lesson of the amount of protection and assistance that is liable to be rendered by the Sultan's troops, and how His Majesty's orders are likely to be carried into effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 182.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 6.)

(No. 83.)
My Lord, *Madrid, May* 2, 1905.

THE Minister of State informed me yesterday that Señor Llaveria, the newly-appointed Spanish Minister at Tangier, would leave for his post on the 10th instant, and would be instructed to take the earliest opportunity of proceeding to Fez to present his credentials. M. de Villaurrutia said that M. Llaveria would have left earlier but had been indisposed: and His Excellency added that he was desirous that M. Llaveria should arrive at Fez as soon as possible in order to show the solidarity of views and interests between Great Britain, France, and Spain, in regard to Moorish affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 183.

Sir N. O'Conor to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 293. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 1, 1905.

I LEARN that about a fortnight ago the Turkish Ambassador in Berlin was approached by the German Chancellor with a proposal that the Sultan should send a Special Mission to Morocco. Count Bülow represented that the Sultan's position in the Moslem world would be much strengthened thereby, and requested that the suggestion should be submitted to His Imperial Majesty. By the Sultan's directions the question was referred to the Ottoman Ambassador in Paris, and I have been furnished confidentially with a copy of his reply.

Munir Pasha counsels that great deliberation and caution should be exercised for the present, until the results of the Mission under M. Tattenbach are ascertained, and he points out that so long as the respective lines of policy which Germany and France will pursue are not clearly defined, compliance with the Emperor William's suggestion is likely to lead to difficulties with France, and also with England, which is acting with the former Power in this question. He appears, however, to be unwilling to commit himself to a too definite expression of opinion, and suggests that if the Government of Morocco should send a return Mission to Berlin, and that Mission should come to Constantinople, the opportunity might be taken to comply with the German request.

I inclose a translation of Munir Pasha's despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. R. O'CONOR.

No. 181*.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 5.)

(No. 27.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, May* 5, 1905.

MOROCCAN affairs. My despatch No. 83 of the 2nd instant.

I hear from Minister for Foreign Affairs that the German Ambassador called on him this morning to inform him, under instructions from his Government, that the Emperor and German Government would regard it as an unfriendly act if the Spanish Minister proceeded to Fez. The Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that, though no date had yet been fixed for the Spanish Mission to Fez, the Minister was leaving for Tangier on the 10th; that he could see no reason why he should be stopped from his proceeding to present his credentials, and that he could not understand how any one could regard such a Mission as an unfriendly act. He added that he believed that Germany did not intend M. von Tattenbach's Mission to be viewed in that character, and that the other Powers had not so considered it.

The reply of the German Ambassador was to the effect that it was the interest of Spain to be on friendly terms with Germany, as the latter could be of more use to her than any other Power, and that the Spanish Government would do wisely in avoiding intervention in the present Moorish difficulties.

I observed that such an attempt to dictate as to when a Spanish Mission should or should not proceed to Fez for the presentation of the Minister's credentials, seemed to me to be going too far. I said that I would telegraph what had passed to your Lordship, and added that I had already reported to my Government, at his Excellency's desire, his wish that the Spanish Mission should proceed as soon as possible. As I do not think that the Spanish Mission would be of much assistance at Fez, and doubt if the health of the Minister would permit of his proceeding there during the hot weather, I did not further press the point as to the early departure of Mission.

I can see that the language of German Ambassador has made an impression here, and that the attitude he has adopted has caused some alarm.

105°

No. 184°.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 29.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, May* 8, 1905.

AFFAIRS of Morocco.

With reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 24, I learn that German Ambassador was informed by Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs that no precise date had been fixed for departure of Spanish Mission for Fez; but I gather that he was not allowed to conclude that the journey of the Spanish Mission would be abandoned.

In reply to my inquiry whether the German Ambassador's message appeared to have been given under instructions, the Foreign Minister replied that his Excellency distinctly said that he delivered it under instructions from his Government.

Inclosure in No. 183.

Munir Pasha to Tewfik Pasha.

(Translation.)
(No. 142.)

April 30, 1905.

THE sending of a Special Mission to Morocco presents great difficulties and objections for the Imperial Ottoman Government. For there is great excitement and anxiety in Paris in regard to the instructions given to the Mission which is to visit the Ruler of Morocco under the presidency of M. Tattenbach, the official charged with advancing German interests at Tangier, and in regard to the line of policy which the said Ruler will adopt. If the German Mission is to act in conformity with the letter of either the Emperor's Tangier speech or Count Bülow's declarations, this anxiety seems natural enough. In that case the form which the question of Morocco will take cannot be very much to the advantage of France, for it is probable that the Ruler of Morocco will be encouraged thereby to reject entirely the French proposals, and will proceed to introduce the necessary reforms little by little, on independent lines or even with the assistance of Germany. For it is certain that, in order to compel France to withdraw its interference, Germany will propose to him the dispatch of German military instructors to train the Moroccan soldiery and police.

Therefore, until it is known what complexion this affair will take, and until the conduct and line of policy of the two Governments in regard to this question are clearly defined, the dispatch of a special Mission on behalf of the Sultan to Fez, in order to carry out the wishes of the Kaiser, will give rise to political difficulties by annoying England and France, which are allied in this matter. Especially until it is seen whether the King of England passes through Paris at the conclusion of his voyage, and what is the outcome of his interviews with M. Loubet, it behoves the Imperial Government to act with extreme deliberation and prudence.

If, however, the Moroccan Government sends a return Mission to Berlin, and if that Mission is charged by the Ruler of Morocco to visit Constantinople for the purpose of presenting the assurances of his esteem and mutual friendship to the Sultan, then I think that a convenient and suitable opportunity would be afforded for dispatching a Mission as suggested.

No. 184.

Sir H. Howard to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 8.)

(No. 76. Confidential.)

The Hague, May 4, 1905.

My Lord,

M. DE WEEDE, who dined with me last night, told me that M. Prollius, the German Chargé d'Affaires, had officially informed him that the German Government were of opinion that the present Morocco question could only be satisfactorily settled by an International Conference.

His Excellency added that M. Prollius did not ask him for an expression of opinion on this subject and that he had not volunteered any.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 185.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 24.)
(Telegraphic.) P.

Foreign Office, May 8, 1905.

THE report contained in your telegram No. 27 of the 5th instant seems almost incredible. We cannot conceive that Spanish Government should accept the position that the point is one for the decision of the German Government, who could hardly take upon themselves to prevent the presentation to the Sultan of the credentials of a friendly Power's properly accredited Representative. Has not the German Ambassador probably acted on his own account? The Spanish Government must obviously decide the moment at which the presentation may take place.

No. 186.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 279.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 8, 1905.

I COMMUNICATED to the French Ambassador to-day, in confidence, the substance of Sir Arthur Nicolson's telegram No. 27 of the 5th May. His Excellency told me that the French Government had recéived a similar report, in which the details were more fully stated. According to this report, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs had exhibited great weakness, and had said that the question of sending the Spanish Minister to Fez had only been decided in principle, but that no decision had been arrived at as to the time at which that visit might take place. The German Ambassador was said to have advised the Spanish Government to drop Great Britain and France and to range themselves frankly upon the side of Germany. His Excellency thought it possible that the proceeding was due to the initiative of the German Ambassador himself.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 187.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 41. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 8, 1905.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 76 of the 26th ultimo, on the subject of your approaching Mission to Fez.

Your action on arrival at the Moorish Court should, as you suggest, be confined to the presentation of Sir A. Nicolson's letters of recall, to the delivery of your credentials, to pressing upon the Moorish Government the settlement of certain outstanding British claims, and to giving a general support to the proposals which the French Minister has lately made to the Sultan.

These proposals, I understand from your despatches Nos. 71 and 79, of the 21st and 29th respectively, concern reforms: (1) in the army, especially in coast towns and on the Algerian frontier, and in the police service; (2) in the Civil Administration which is to be maintained on present lines; (3) in the finances of the country; (4) in the selection of Governors at ports, and in other matters concerning the condition of the Moorish ports generally; (5) in the cable service between those ports, and (6) in the security of the Algerian frontier.

It is clear that these measures of reform are not only desirable and indeed essential in the interests of Morocco, but that they are in no way contrary to British interests or to those of any other country. You should therefore support the French Minister in such manner as you may consider appropriate in advocating these measures, and you should press upon the Sultan the desirability of accepting them, as well as any other measures having the same general character.

When you have fulfilled your instructions you will be in a position to judge whether it is expedient that you should remain at the Moorish Court, and, if so, for how long; you should inform me of your views upon this point. The Mission should, however, not depart from Fez without the instructions of His Majesty's Government.

Your proposal to leave Mr. White in charge of His Majesty's Legation during your absence from Tangier is approved, but I shall be glad to be informed in good time when Mr. White considers it necessary for reasons of health to leave for Europe.

Your proposals as to the staff which is to accompany you are also approved. I have already informed you by telegraph that Major H. C. Lowther, D.S.O., Scots Guards, Captain N. Malcolm, D.S.O., Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, and Captain Fawcus, R.A.M.C., have been selected by the Army Council for the military staff of your Mission.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 188.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 9.)

(No. 72. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Rome, May* 5, 1905.

A LEADING Italian statesman, not now in office, spoke to me yesterday with the utmost seriousness of the menacing language with regard to France held to him by the German Ambassador.

As Count Monts appears to me a moderate and sensible man, I cannot doubt that he is conforming to orders, though I make allowance for exaggeration on the part of my informant.

Even the possibility of war, unpopular as it would be in Germany, was hinted at, and also the slight hope of practical aid from England, whilst Russia was no longer of use.

I answered my Italian friend that I could not share his anxiety, for though I wondered at the apparent futility of the move made by the German Emperor with regard to Morocco, which seemed to point to a demand for some equivalent elsewhere. I did not doubt that any misunderstanding between France and Germany would easily be removed by diplomatic means.

The doubts I seemed to cast on the gravity of the situation appeared to distress my friend, who assured me that those here with most means of knowing the truth were alarmed.

To-day M. Barrère called on me. He began by repeating to me at some length the warnings of the same person of whose language I have just given the gist: to which I answered that, though I had no doubt of the latter's good faith, I had made great allowance for exaggeration.

M. Barrère went on to say that he had also heard similar language from others, one of whom, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs, dwelt on the causes of the Emperor's grievances against M. Loubet and the French Government, not the least of which occurred during the President's visit to Rome.

He seemed to fear weakness on the part of M. Tittoni and the Italian Government, and also the nervousness of politicians and financial authorities in France, and consequently he was leaving for Paris on the 8th instant to see M. Delcassé, and give him all the help in his power towards maintaining a firm and unaggressive attitude.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

No. 189.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 42.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 9, 1905.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch of to-day's date, I have to inform you that the solicitor to the firm of Messrs. Chas. Murdoch and Co. has communicated to this Office a copy of the letter dated the 5th instant, together with copies of the inclosures, which that firm has addressed to you on the subject of the outstanding amounts due to their Saffi house.

You will no doubt include these claims among those which you propose to press on the Moorish Government during your Mission to Fez, and use your best endeavours to bring about a prompt settlement.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 190.

Mr. Herbert to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 10.)

(No. 17.)
My Lord, *Karlsruhe, May* 8, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have endeavoured, during the visit of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor here, to ascertain what might be the views of the gentlemen of his suite on the Morocco question.

Herr von Eckhardstein, formerly first Secretary of the German Embassy in London, thought it necessary to come here on Friday to warn Count von Bülow of the excited state of public feeling in England on the question, but Count von Bülow, whom I saw subsequently, said he considered the reports of Herr von Eckhardstein as somewhat of an alarmist character.

Herr von Schoen, the German Minister at Copenhagen, whom I had known there, and who has been in attendance on the Emperor as representative of the Foreign Office, said that Germany based her position on the Agreement of 1880, to which she was a Signatory. In this Agreement it is stated that no alteration in the *status quo* should take place without the consent of all the Signatory Powers. That Germany had never been officially informed of the terms of the Anglo-French Agreement, and that it would now seem, that therein power is granted to France to alter the import duties at will, and thereby cause injury to German trade.

Herr von Schoen said that Germany had the example of Tunis before her, and did not wish to see a similar case repeated in Morocco, and that the policy of Germany was that of the "open door."

I ventured to remark that if one could believe the papers, the policy of the "open door" was not, as far as we were concerned, a particularly satisfactory one in Shantung. His Excellency said that he was not well acquainted with the condition of affairs in China, but that he thought that a large part of the bitter feeling now existing between England and Germany was entirely attributable to the press of both countries, and this opinion was likewise shared by Count von Bülow, who made an identical remark to me. "If we could abolish the press," His Excellency said, "we (*i.e.*, England and Germany) would do very nicely."

I was gratified to see that everyone with whom I spoke treated the matter as one which was capable of arrangement, and that the chief cause of complaint was that Germany had been treated as a negligible quantity, and had not been informed of the proposed changes in the Arrangement of 1880.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR HERBERT.

No. 191.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 13)

(No. 83.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 1, 1905.

ON receipt of your Lordship's telegram No. 20 of the 21st ultimo, I immediately informed Abdelkrim-ben-Sliman that I proposed to repair as soon as possible to Fez to present my credentials to His Shereefian Majesty, and begged that, if convenient, the necessary preparations might be made at once for my journey, and added some complimentary remarks.

I have to-day received a reply from his Excellency stating that he has been instructed to inform me of the pleasure my coming will cause His Majesty and his satisfaction at my mission, adding that it will please His Majesty to welcome me as his guest.

His Excellency states that the officials and the necessaries for the journey are about to leave the Shereefian Court immediately.

If preparations can be made in time, I hope to leave Tangier on the 17th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 192.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 13.)

(No. 84.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 2, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 71 of the 21st ultimo, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a Memorandum by Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod, of information received from a trustworthy source, on the subject of the meeting of the 24th ultimo at Fez, in which a draft of the proposed reply of the Sultan to the French Minister's suggestions for the reform of the Moorish army was submitted by the Viziers for the consideration of the Council of Notables.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

Inclosure in No. 192.

Memorandum of Information given by Hadj Taleb Lazrac to Vice-Consul MacLeod respecting French Negotiations at Fez.

ON Monday the 24th April the Notables were summoned to the Palace, and the Viziers submitted for their consideration a draft of the reply the Sultan proposed to send to the French Minister regarding the French proposal for the reform of the army.

The Sultan was agreeable to send the regiments, one each of horse and foot and artillery, to each of the following towns, namely, Oujdah, Tangier, Dar-el-Baida, and Rabat. (*Note.*—Total, say 4,000 men. This would mean in all presumably about 1,000 men to each place.)

At Oujdah there were eight French instructors already. To these twelve might be added so that the Oujdah garrison would have twenty French instructors. The other garrisons named would have each a similar number of French instructors. (*Note.*—This would mean eighty French instructors in all.)

All the other ports, namely, Tetuan, Laraiche, Mazagan, Saffi, and Mogador, smaller garrisons would by-and-bye be installed, smaller in view of the lesser importance of those ports. It was most essential, the Sultan concluded, to have really efficient troops on the frontier.

The Notables answered that they agreed generally with the proposed reply, but were of opinion that the eight French instructors now at Oujdah were sufficient. (Whether this meant that only eight French instructors were to be kept at Oujdah and none installed at the other places, or that eight each (instead of twenty) were to be allotted to Tangier, Rabat, and Dar-el-Baida, Hadj Taleb could not say, but he is going to inquire on this point.)

The Notables suggested further that instructors should be engaged by written contract for a fixed term of years, say ten years, and it should be clearly stipulated in the contract that at the expiry of that term they should, if the Sultan then so wished, leave Morocco without demur or their own part or on the part of the French Government.

Next, the contracts, or rather the agreements without the contracts, should be arrived [*sic*] and signed in the presence of some other [*sic*] nation, who thereby would, in a sort, be surety for the due performance of the clause about the retiring of the instructors at the end of the specified term, if the Sultan so wished.

No particular nation was suggested for this purpose, and the Notables were not at all unanimous on the point, some of them pointing out that no nation friendly to France could be relied on to enforce anything against France, and no nation unfriendly to France would be so obliging as to sign such an undertaking.

The Viziers then said the proposed answer would be returned to His Shereefian Majesty with the Notables' remarks, and that His Shereefian Majesty would reconsider it all. The meeting then separated, and that is how the matter now stands.

No. 193.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 13.)

(No. 85.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 2, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to report that Count Tattenbach, the German Minister, left Tangier to-day overland for Fez.

Besides the members of the Legation whom he takes with him on his staff, the following officers have been attached:—

Major-General Schenck, Inspector of the School of Infantry in Berlin; Major Leopold von Kleist, of the "Garde du Corps"; Captain Baron von Senden, Military Attaché in Madrid; as well as an army doctor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 194.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 13.)

(No. 87.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 5, 1905.

COMTE DE CHÉRISEY, the French Chargé d'Affaires, told me last night that he had received instructions from M. Delcassé to convey to me the warm appreciation of his Government for the action of His Majesty's Government in the recent affairs connected with Morocco, and especially for the attitude assumed by His Majesty's Legation here.

He added that he had also been instructed to say that the friendly feeling exhibited towards the French Legation by Mr. White and myself during the time I had been here had been very much appreciated.

M. Delcassé had, he said, had an opportunity of expressing himself in similar terms to the King in Paris, but he wished Comte de Chérisey to repeat this expression here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 195.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 13.)

(No. 88.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 5, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to report, from information received from Mr. Consul Maclean, that the tribes in the neighbourhood of Daralbaida are in an unsettled condition, and are only nominally kept in subjection by their Governors.

Caravans approaching the town are obliged to pay blackmail in every district through which they pass, and individuals are constantly being robbed.

Further south inter-tribal disputes are rife, but the roads from Mazagan, Saffi, and Mogador respectively to Marrakesh are reported to be open.

The Kaïd of Glaoui was the only man of sufficient power to effect the release of the Marquis de Segonzac, and he is reported to have collected large sums of money from his extensive domains in the east.

M. de Segonzac was last heard of spending a few days at Mesfeewa before returning to Marrakesh.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERALD LOWTHER.

No. 196.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 13.)

(No. 89. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 5, 1905.

I HAD to-day a long conversation with Kaid Sir Harry Maclean, who returned last night from Fez.

In reply to my inquiry as to the progress of the French proposals for reform, the Kaid said that the negotiations were absolutely at a deadlock, and, so far from the French position being likely to improve, it would inevitably be injuriously affected by the advent of the German Mission, on which the Sultan and his advisers built their hopes.

The want of success obtained by M. Saint-René Taillandier in his negotiations the Kaid attributed to his want of tact, and to the domineering attitude he had assumed in the early stages of the negotiations; and although he had recently modified his attitude much harm had been done.

Kaid Maclean said that he had pointed out to the Sultan that it could not but be of advantage to His Majesty to be on good terms with a powerful neighbour; to which he had replied that that was well and good, but that when there existed the conviction that that neighbour had intentions of swallowing him up his feelings could not fail to be affected.

Neither the Sultan nor his entourage knew what the German Mission was going to propose, but they looked forward with great pleasure to seeing them, and His Shereefian Majesty was apparently of opinion that the strength of France and England was as nothing to that of Germany at this moment.

The Sultan, the Kaid said, had been much disheartened at his "abandonment" by England, but His Majesty still seemed to think that England could come to his aid in protecting him against the exorbitant demands of the French Government. On my asking the Kaid in what way it was suggested that Great Britain could come to the assistance of the Sultan, he explained that His Majesty believed that Great Britain could guarantee to him the faithful fulfilment of the engagements made by France to the Sultan.

For instance, it had been suggested that the proposed French military instructors should be withdrawn when order and security were established; but His Majesty could not admit that the French were to be the judges of that moment, but wished that it should rest with another Power.

I briefly pointed out to the Kaid the obstacles to such a proposition.

Many Moors, including the Sultan, in the opinion of the Kaid, were honestly in favour of certain reforms, but they would prefer that these should be suggested by any Power except France or Spain.

I pointed out that France was the Power not only most interested, but also in the position, if it became necessary, to make her influence felt on the frontier; to which the Kaid replied that the best hope of success for the French would be that they should take in hand the defeat of the Pretender, and thus be able to pose as the friend of Morocco. He could not believe in any reforms coming peacefully or from within, and maintained that if France intended to pursue her present aim it was extremely probable that she would eventually be compelled to use force, and if that day should come he did not anticipate that it would cause so much trouble, for although the Moors were now well armed he did not believe that they possessed sufficient ammunition to make a formidable resistance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 197.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received May* 13.)

(No. 90.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 6, 1905.

THE French Legation appear to be rather anxious as to whether the Sultan may not propose to Count Tattenbach that German officers should be sent to organize the military forces of the Empire.

Count Tattenbach made several declarations here to the effect that he was going to ask for nothing at Fez, but to some persons added that if His Shereefian Majesty offered anything he would of course give it consideration.

General Schenck, the Director of the School of Infantry in Berlin, is by the German Legation here declared to be a personage of great importance who sees his Emperor every week, and it is insinuated by the German Legation that he has been chosen with a special object on this occasion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 198.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 13.)

(No. 91.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May 6, 1905.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 85 of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report that Count Tattenbach took with him to Fez the Red Eagle which is to be presented to His Shereefian Majesty from the German Emperor. The German Legation has let it be known that the Black Eagle will be reserved for His Majesty for a future and perhaps a not distant occasion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 199.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 16.)

(No. 85.)
My Lord, *Madrid, May 5, 1905.*

I TOLD the Minister for Foreign Affairs this afternoon that, in accordance with the wish which he had recently expressed, I had informed your Lordship that the new Spanish Minister at Tangier had received instructions to proceed as soon as convenient to Fez, as the Spanish Government desired to show the solidarity of their views and interests in Morocco with those of Great Britain and France.

M. de Villa Urrutia said that since he had seen me a new factor had been introduced into this question. The German Ambassador had called on him this morning to announce, in accordance with instructions which he had received, that if the Spanish Government dispatched their envoy to Fez at this juncture, such a proceeding would be regarded as an unfriendly act by his Emperor and the German Government.

M. de Villa Urrutia had replied that Señor Flaveria was leaving for Tangier on the 10th instant; that it was true the Spanish Government desired he should proceed to Fez to present his credentials, but that no date had yet been fixed for the departure of his mission. His Excellency also remarked that he could not comprehend why the dispatch of a Spanish Mission should be regarded as an unfriendly act, as he hardly imagined that the German Government wished that the French and British Governments should view the visit of Count Tattenbach to Fez in that character. M. de Radowitz said—and here, I think, he was led away by his impetuous disposition—that, on the contrary, Count Tattenbach's mission was meant as a demonstration against the French policy, and that if Spain intervened in the question she would have everything to lose and nothing to gain. M. de Radowitz added that Spain should attach herself to Germany, who was in a position to be of greater service to her than any other Power, and could raise her in the ranks of European nations.

I told M. de Villa Urrutia that, in my opinion, it was going a little too far to practically dictate to Spain when she should or should not send her Minister to present his letters to the Sovereign to whom he was accredited. I would inform your Lordship by telegraph of what he had told me, but it seemed to me that he should be undisturbed by these minatory communications of the German Ambassador, as Spain, with regard to Morocco, had entered into certain understandings which it was to her interest to observe.

I did not, I added, desire to discuss questions of general policy, but if I were a Spaniard I should have little hesitation in deciding in what quarter I should find the truest and most useful friends.

M. de Villa Urrutia, who was considerably moved by the communication of the German Ambassador, said that the Prime Minister had by chance assisted at the interview with His Excellency, and had been, with himself, unpleasantly impressed by the incident. He wished to explain to me that he had not allowed M. de Radowitz to understand that the Spanish Mission to Fez had been abandoned, he had merely stated that no date had been fixed.

I did not dwell on this point, as I doubt if the presence of the Spanish Minister at Fez would prove of much material assistance, and, moreover, he is in delicate health, and a journey to the Moorish capital in the summer would be a serious undertaking for him.

M. Cambon told me later that M. de Villa Urrutia had spoken to him in the same sense, though his Excellency had informed him that the German Ambassador had said that the departure of the Spanish Mission to Fez would be considered by his Government as an act "anti-Allemand." M. de Villa Urrutia did not use the expression "unfriendly act" in his conversation with M. Cambon.

It is, perhaps, of no great importance what the exact terms were that the German Ambassador used, as the character and tone of his communication left apparently little doubt in the minds of the Prime Minister and of M. de Villa Urrutia as to the views of the German Government. M. Cambon spoke to M. de Villa Urrutia very much in the same sense as I had done, and his Excellency agrees with me that it could be hardly worth while to insist too strongly on the Spanish Government sending their Minister to Fez, though he considers these repeated onslaughts of the German Ambassador require to be watched.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 200.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 307. Secret.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 17, 1905.*

THE French Ambassador told me to-day that during his stay in Paris he had fully discussed with M. Delcassé the manner in which the railway question might be dealt with in the Abyssinian Agreement. They had considered the alternative courses which I had indicated on the 28th ultimo. These were:—

1. That the railway should be referred to merely in general terms as a French interest, and that the details should be dealt with in a subsidiary Agreement; or

2. That the Agreement should contain a full statement of the conditions under which the railway should be built.

M. Tittoni, who had been in Paris, had intimated that the Italian Government decidedly preferred the first of these alternatives. Alternative drafts based upon each alternative had been submitted to M. Delcassé, but it would be impossible for him to undertake the examination of these until the 19th instant, after which date his Excellency hoped to be able to make me aware of the conclusion arrived at by the French Government. With reference to the proposal that the third section of the railway should be handed over to Great Britain, the French Government would have some difficulty in abandoning a concession which had been made not to them, but to a French Company. They saw, however, no objection whatever to putting it upon record that the French Government abandoned all interest in the third section of the railway, and his Excellency felt sure that this difficulty could be overcome.

He went on to tell me that while he was at Paris a despatch had been received by the French Government from Rome to the effect that the Italian Government had learned, to their surprise, that his Excellency and I were making a separate arrangement as to Abyssinia behind the backs of the Italian Government. This story, his Excellency said, had been treated by M. Delcassé with the ridicule which it deserved. The French Government believed it to be of German origin.

Taking this incident as his text, his Excellency went on to dwell with much animation upon the present attitude of the German Government, which was, he said, engaged all over the world in attempting to sow discord between us. The situation which had arisen was regarded by M. Delcassé as not profoundly dangerous, but as sufficiently serious to occasion him much preoccupation. The German Emperor was, his Excellency thought, now calming down, and the improvement was, he believed, to

some extent due to the sound advice given by His Majesty the King to Prince Radolin when they met at Paris. The attitude of the German officials was, however, most extraordinary. They were absolutely reticent and "wooden-faced" ("font visage de bois") whenever they were spoken to about Morocco.

His Excellency also referred briefly to the reported occupation of Haichow by a German force, as to which I told him that our latest reports from Peking and Berlin suggested the idea that the story was exaggerated, and probably had its origin in the presence at that place of a German survey party. I observed that the moral of all these incidents seemed to me to be that our two Governments should continue to treat one another with the most absolute confidence; should keep one another fully informed of everything which came to their knowledge, and should, so far as possible, discuss in advance any contingencies by which they might, in the course of events, find themselves confronted. As an instance of our readiness to enter into such timely discussions, I reminded his Excellency of the communication which had recently been made to the French Government by you at a moment when an idea prevailed that Germany might be on the point of demanding the cession of a Moorish port. His Excellency expressed entire agreement with what I had said, and added that it was necessary to spare no efforts in order to counteract the effect of suggestions sedulously made by German Agents to the effect that Great Britain, with characteristic perfidy, had involved France in this Morocco imbroglio, securing to herself at the same time what she most wanted in Egypt. He spoke in the highest terms of the support which the French Government had received from that of His Majesty during the trying times through which they were passing.

I said that I had heard fears expressed that, in order to put an end to a state of things which could not fail to be highly inconvenient to them, the French Government might be induced to purchase the acquiescence of Germany by concessions of a kind which we were not likely to regard with favour in other parts of the world. I had myself no such misgivings, and felt convinced that each side might continue to rely upon being treated with absolute frankness by the other. His Excellency expressed his entire concurrence in what I had said.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 201.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 95.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May 12, 1905.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 93 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to report an incident which occurred on the arrival of the new Spanish Minister, which has caused considerable comment here.

After the usual salutes had been fired and returned the French flag was hoisted on the "Rio de la Plata," and a salute of twenty-one guns fired.

This was done with the sanction and approval of the Spanish Minister, and it was stated that it was meant as a special compliment to France, and as an indication of the cordial relations existing between the two countries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 202.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 97.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May 13, 1905.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a précis of the substance of what has been reported to me as having taken place between the French Minister and the Moorish Government at the meeting held at Fez on the 9th March.

The report deals with the financial proposals.

There are two points which undoubtedly would meet with opposition on the part of the Sultan and the Makhzen, namely, that all Government employés should receive

their salaries through the bank which it is proposed to establish, and also that the residue of the mosque property should be applied to the teaching of the French language.

Count de Cherisey to-day, in conversation, alluded to the reports which had appeared in the press with regard to the financial proposals, and which correspond in a great measure to that version which I now transmit, and added that in many particulars they were quite incorrect, and specially mentioned the two points above referred to, which he said were entire inventions.

Count de Cherisey said that matters were at a standstill at Fez, that the Sultan was on the point of signing the military proposals, but when the news of the Tattenbach Mission was confirmed His Shereefian Majesty withdrew, and M. Saint-René Taillandier had then decided to expound his whole programme, reserving only that part which he did not deem it advisable should be known to the German Mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

Inclosure in No. 202.

Précis of Substance of what occurred at the Meeting between the French Minister and the Moorish Government, held March 9, 1905, in Fez.

Fluctuation of Rate of Exchange of Moorish Coinage.

THIS is due to the fact that at the season of export currency is in demand; when that season has passed the rate of exchange rises. There had also been a depreciation caused by the fact that the Makhzen had recently minted more than usual, a depreciation which at one time had reached 70 per cent. The idea was good, but the quantity minted was too large, and the resulting profit was swallowed up by the loss on the exchange.

The Remedy of this State of Affairs.

The representative of the French bondholders had suggested the use of cheques. This had lowered the rate of exchange. The Moorish Government should suspend the minting of any more money, even if it should have to make compensation to the contractors. The Moorish Government should buy up and store the coin in winter until the time of demand, *i.e.*, the export season. In order to do this, money would be necessary and the formation of a bank essential. This bank should be a State or Makhzen bank. By the control thus rendered possible the rate of exchange could be regulated and rendered stable as in France and England. Bank notes could be issued as in other countries. All Government payments would be made through this bank. The bank would be in a position to make loans to the Government for carrying out reforms.

As regards guarantee, the Government will carry out reforms with the money of the loan, for the interest of which 60 per cent. of the Customs revenues is put aside, and will have the remaining 40 per cent. plus the sums of the other revenues at its disposal.

When a strong army shall have been formed it is expected that the Makhzen will draw largely increased revenues from the "Tertib" or rural taxes. Should further taxation be found necessary, the Makhzen might impose a tax on buildings as is done in all Moslem and other countries. This appears to be not contrary to Moslem law. Also the Government properties might be reorganized with great advantage to the Treasury, and this is also the case in respect to mosque property. With this money the towns might be cleansed and education encouraged. A university might be founded at Tangier, where industrial and mathematical instruction might be imparted, as also the study of the French language. Other sources of revenue would be obtainable from fees on passports, and from stamps and cabotage dues. A great saving would also be effected by the enforcement of more stringent regulations in regard to the shipping and delivery of goods.

No. 203.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 99.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 13, 1905.

I HAVE received from Moses Pariente, a British-protected subject, a request to take measurements and soundings, make plans, &c., with a view to preparing a scheme of improvements of the Bay of Tangier for harbourage, docks, &c., which that firm desires me to place before His Shereefian Majesty.

Similar permission has already been granted to French and German firms at the request of their Legations, and the French experts have very nearly finished their surveys and are prepared to submit a scheme involving an expenditure of some 300,000 fr. to 400,000 fr., and would later on be ready to present a much more comprehensive scheme. The German experts have so far done very little in the matter of surveys.

I thought it as well to inform Count de Cherisey that this request had been made on behalf of an English Company, but told him that in any case nothing would be done until I reached Fez.

I presume that your Lordship would wish me to submit the request of Moses Pariente to the Makhzen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 204.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 100.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 15, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 85 of the 2nd May, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a despatch which I have received from His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Fez, reporting the arrival in that city of the German Mission under Count von Tattenbach.

As your Lordship will perceive, the German Minister and his Mission entered Fez in full uniform, a rather unusual practice with Missions, but evidently done purposely to contrast with the civil entry of the French Mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

Inclosure in No. 204.

Vice-Consul Macleod to Mr. Lowther.

No. 14.)
Sir, *Fez, May* 11, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to report that the German Mission under Count von Tattenbach entered Fez this morning at 10 o'clock.

The Envoy and his suite were in uniform, and were received with the usual ceremonies by the Kaid-el-Meshuar on behalf of the Sultan. I saw the entry of the Mission from the time of the Envoy's meeting with the Kaid-el-Meshuar to the city gate.

The numbers, alike of military authorities and public, seemed to me no more than the average on such occasions. As regards the public, the turn-out was, I thought, rather less than usual, and certainly the crowd did not exceed that which greeted the arrival of the French Mission in January last.

On the other hand, by the brightness of the weather, the uniforms of the members of the Mission, and the infantry and mounted infantry being in new uniforms, the spectacle was more striking and picturesque than it sometimes is.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. M. MACLEOD.

No. 205.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 22.)

(No. 52.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Buryan (2nd Camp), May* 22, 1905.

BRITISH Mission to Fez.

A proposal will, as I am informed on good authority, be made by Count von Tattenbach on behalf of Mendelsohn's, for a loan to enable the Sultan to pay off all his liabilities. Sufficient guarantees, the firm consider, will be forthcoming.

This would clash with certain clauses of the French loan; it is not stated how this will be overcome.

The head of Messrs. Mendelsohn's made details of the arrangement recently at Madrid.

No. 206.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 23.)

(No. 53.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, May* 23, 1905.

I AM informed by the German Chargé d'Affaires that all the Vizirs have received the First Class of the Prussian Order of the Crown.

M. von Kühlmann also told me that Count von Tattenbach had already been received four times by the Sultan, who was discussing with him the proposed reforms.

His Shereefian Majesty assured Count von Tattenbach that it was not true that the proposals made by M. Saint-René Taillandier had been accepted by him in principle.

It appeared to be the Sultan's desire that the proposals should be submitted to the Foreign Representatives at Tangier.

No. 207.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 24.)

(Separate.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, May* 24, 1905.

THE French Vice-Consul at Fez told Mr. Vice-Consul Macleod that Count von Tattenbach had proposed to the Sultan to send German officers to instruct His Majesty's army, and had also offered financial assistance.

He had advised the Sultan, whilst granting some slight amelioration in the existing condition on the frontier, to reject all the other French proposals. He suggested to His Majesty that he should request that a conference should be convoked of all the Powers that were parties to the Madrid Convention, in order that the situation might be discussed by them, adding that Germany might act as his intermediary in bringing this about.

After consultation with his Vizirs the Sultan inquired of Count von Tattenbach whether, should his suggestions be acted upon, his Government would guarantee Morocco against the consequences; this, however, Count von Tattenbach said he could not promise.

This reply, according to the French Vice-Consul, caused considerable disappointment to the Sultan, who was very reserved afterwards.

No. 208.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 328.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 24, 1905.*

THE French Ambassador told me to-day that the French Government had received from their Minister in Morocco an interesting report, derived from a trustworthy Moorish authority, as to the result of Count Tattenbach's first conversation with the Sultan. Count Tattenbach had told the Sultan that the proposals made by the French Government did not receive the support of French public opinion. Germany was ready to admit that French influence might be exercised in the regions adjoining the Algerian frontier, but not elsewhere. Germany was also ready to give the Sultan her assistance, particularly in the matter of finance. If the Sultan desired Mussulman instructors for his army, the German Government would obtain them for him from Turkey. [This proposal his Excellency characterized as grotesque.] Germany would ask nothing in return for her good offices, and only desired that the policy of the "open door" should be maintained, and that she should not be placed in a position of inferiority to other nations.

It was reported, his Excellency said, that the Sultan had been profuse in his thanks, but had merely indulged in generalities and made no promise. There had been a second interview with regard to which information was not forthcoming. It was understood that one of the Sultan's Ministers had suggested to him that he should reply by a statement to the effect that he desired these questions to be dealt with in Europe, and in such a manner as not to give offence to his powerful neighbour.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 209.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 49.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 24, 1905.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 99 of the 13th instant respecting the request of Moses Pariente for permission to take measurements and soundings, &c., with a view to preparing a scheme of improvements of the Bay of Tangier.

I see no objection to your submitting this request to the Moorish Government whilst at Fez.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 210.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 25.)

(Separate.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, May 25, 1905.*

A PRIVATE correspondent at Fez informs me that he has learnt secretly from the Minister of War that Count von Tattenbach spoke very strongly against the French, and stated both to His Shereefian Majesty and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that should it be necessary, Germany would go to war with France about Morocco. Minister for War said Count von Tattenbach counselled His Shereefian Majesty to dispatch to Germany a large number of Moors in order that they might receive training as artillery and infantry instructors, this was in addition to the offer of German military instructors to come to Morocco.

The Minister of War's statement should perhaps be taken with some reserve, as he himself was not present at Count von Tattenbach's interviews.

No. 211.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 102.)

My Lord, *Tangier, May 17, 1905.*

COUNT CHÉRISEY yesterday asked me whether I had heard anything of an idea which had been ventilated of the employment of the subjects of a Power not directly interested in Morocco in the Government offices of this country.

I replied that I had heard it suggested in two different quarters that Belgians should be employed in the custom-house, and I was disposed to think that such an idea would find favour with the Sultan. Count Chérisey observed that it would certainly be preferable that positions of this kind should be occupied by Belgians instead of Germans, to which I remarked that if the French Minister were to make a concession in this direction he might obtain a *quid pro quo* in another.

The Belgian Minister, in speaking of this matter to me, said he had not heard it mooted, and had certainly not put forward the idea in any form, but his Government, he felt sure, would be very pleased to see it materialize.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 212.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 103.)

My Lord, *Tangier, May 17, 1905.*

THE possibility of the Sultan of Turkey sending a Mission shortly to Fez has been discussed here as elsewhere, and regarded as being not unlikely to take place.

Count Chérisey, in speaking of the matter yesterday, said that, although he had no definite information on the matter, he thought it quite possible that one might be sent, and was sure that, so far from the Mission being a support to the German Minister, it would have the contrary effect, owing to the little popularity enjoyed by the Turks here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 213.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 105.)

My Lord, *Tangier, May 20, 1905.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit a copy of a letter from Major Lowther reporting briefly a conversation he had with Sid-el-Menebhi.

The views expressed by Menebhi are, as far as I am able to gather, shared by most Moors, though perhaps they would not be expressed to a stranger.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

Inclosure in No. 213.

Major Lowther to Mr. Lowther.

Sir, *Tangier, May 19, 1905.*

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your information, a short report of a conversation I held to-day with Sid-el-Menebhi when calling on him in his house in Tangier.

He stated, in reply to my questions, as follows:—

That in his opinion no good results could be expected from the present Missions

to Fez; that neither the Sultan nor people could tolerate the French, and would prefer the present condition of anarchy to an existence under the French.

This he ascribed to the way in which affairs are managed in Algeria. There, he said, no well-to-do Mahommedan would exist, and all the better class had emigrated to Stamboul, Egypt, Morocco, and elsewhere, for they would not tolerate the interference with religion which has been part of the French policy in Algeria. To such a point has this interference been pushed that the journey to Mecca is prohibited, and two men who made the journey to Mecca viâ Stamboul were, on their return, awarded three years' imprisonment each for the offence.

He said that if the Powers would conjointly urge measures of reform on the Sultan he felt sure both the latter and the people would willingly accept this means towards the improvement of the condition of the nation; but the execution of such reforms should be under the direction of the Representative of an inferior Power—he suggested Belgium or Portugal—for to put it in the hands of one of the Great Powers would arouse suspicion in Morocco, and the disinterestedness of that Power might be questioned.

In reply to my question as to whether he considered greater security to life and property in the country round Tangier could be looked for in the near future, Menebhi stated, after a moment's thought, that he thought that a better state of affairs would exist by the time the British Mission returned to Tangier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. C. LOWTHER, *Major*,
Scots Guards.

No. 214.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 96.)
My Lord, *Madrid, May 19, 1905.*

THE Minister of State informed me yesterday that he had spoken to the King in regard to the projected Mission to Fez of the newly-appointed Spanish Minister in Morocco, and had submitted that owing to the approach of the summer and the delicate health of M. Llaveria that it might be advisable to postpone the visit.

His Majesty, however, had considered that M. Llaveria should proceed on his Mission, and orders had consequently been sent to him to request the necessary escort and baggage animals from Fez.

I remarked that I was afraid M. Llaveria would hardly be able to start till towards the end of June, when he would find travelling in the interior very trying.

I hardly think that the presence of the Spanish Mission at Fez would in reality be of such assistance as to justify any hardships being imposed on the Spanish Minister.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 215.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 30.)

(Separate.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, May 30, 1905.*

M. DE LLAVERIA informs me that he has asked leave to put off, until September next, his departure for Fez.

No. 216.

Native Races and the Liquor Traffic United Committee to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 31.)

My Lord, *Livingstone College, Leyton, May 30, 1905.*

I AM directed by my Committee to approach your Lordship with reference to the importation of liquor into Morocco.

Three years ago the attention of my Committee was called to this subject by one of their number, Mr. Henry Gurney, who had recently returned from Morocco, where he had had an interview with the Sultan. Mr. Gurney represented that it was the strong wish of the Moorish Government to have some control over the sale of liquor, but they had no Treaty with the European Powers which would enable them to take any steps in this direction. Mr. Gurney and I had at that time an opportunity of an interview with a representative of the Foreign Office, who suggested that if His Majesty the Sultan would take action in the matter it might be possible to secure the co-operation of the European Powers.

It has never come to the knowledge of the Committee that any steps in the above direction have been taken by the Shereefian Government, but now that European influence is to predominate the responsibility will not rest solely with that Government, and the Committee would venture to suggest that, now that the Representatives of England, France, and Germany are at Fez, some arrangement might be come to by which the Moors might have that protection from the great dangers arising from the free importation of liquor which is already provided in other parts of Africa.

My Committee feel that the principle recognized by the European Powers in the General Act of Brussels with reference to the importation of liquor in places where the religious belief of the people is opposed to it, should apply to such a State as Morocco, though this is outside the zone included in the legislation of the Brussels Act.

My Committee hope that your Lordship may be able to promote this much-needed reform in Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES F. HARFORD,
Honorary Secretary.

No. 217.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received May 31.)

(Separate.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, May 31, 1905.*

M. DE CHERISEY tells me that he has to-day heard from M. Saint-René Taillandier at Fez, that Sid-ben-Sliman has announced to the French Minister the inability of His Shereefian Majesty to give his assent to the scheme of military reorganization proposed by the French; but that the Sultan had directed the Moorish Commissioner at Tangier to communicate there with each Representative of the Signatory Powers of the Madrid Convention, inviting their attendance at a Conference for the purpose of discussing military reforms, as well as further proposals to be put forward by the Shereefian Government through their Representatives at the Conference.

No. 218.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 357.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 1, 1905.*

THE French Ambassador called at this Office to-day, and said that, according to the reports which had been received from the French Minister at Fez, the Sultan seemed to have been a good deal impressed by Count von Tattenbach's arguments, and was disposed to propose a European Conference on the French proposals of reform, basing his arguments in favour of that course on the clause of the Madrid Convention, which secured most-favoured-nation treatment to all the Signatory Powers. M. Cambon said that a Conference was clearly out of place, and that the French Government would be glad to know whether we had any news confirmatory of this report as to the

Sultan's attitude, and when Mr. Lowther might be expected to arrive at Fez. They hoped that his presence and support might be of great use to M. Saint René-Taillandier.

His Excellency was informed that we had not yet heard of Mr. Lowther's arrival, but that he should be at Fez in the course of the next few days. The telegram from Tangier of yesterday's date, from which it appeared that the Sultan had not proposed a European Conference, but wished to refer the French proposals for military reorganization to a Conference of the Representatives at Tangier, was read to his Excellency, and he was also informed that we would let him know as soon as Mr. Lowther reached Fez.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 219.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 9.)

(No. 106.)
My Lord, *Buryan, May 22, 1905.*

I HAD occasion to see Mr. Carleton, British Consular Agent, while passing through his district, and had some conversation with him regarding the reception by the people of the German Mission. He described it as most enthusiastic, and especially so on the part of the Makalla (the Government troops), who in greeting the German Minister bade him a very warm welcome, and said through their Chief that they were prepared to carry the Minister on their shoulders to Fez. To this his Excellency replied that the country was very beautiful and fertile, and that it would be a pity for the French to have it. Mr. Carleton assured me that these were the observations that passed, as he himself acted as interpreter on the occasion. Mr. Carleton said that latterly this district had been fairly quiet, which he had attributed to the failure of the French Mission. The Sultan had lost his authority by the fact that he had acquired a reputation for adopting Christian customs, &c., but when his people saw that he resisted all attempts at reform suggested by the French Minister their minds were disabused and their admiration for their Sovereign was returning.

There are everywhere in this district signs of devastation and pillage, and many villages are completely abandoned and wrecked, and the presence of about 900 Imperial troops here goes far to consume what little remains. Cultivation is scarce and the crops are poor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 220.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 9.)

(No. 107.)
My Lord, *Buryan, May 23, 1905.*

THE following information has reached me from Fez regarding the German Mission:—

At the first audience Count Tattenbach, on the 15th instant, presented the decoration sent by the German Emperor.

On the 16th Count Tattenbach had an interview which lasted two and a-half hours, but it is not known what passed.

Nearly all the Court people seem to be suspicious of the German attitude, which, they think, will further embroil the country, but they hesitate to give vent to their opinions, as the Sultan has been himself so elated by the German Mission.

Count Tattenbach, calling on one of the Viziers, expressed himself as delighted with his reception, adding that "one hour of it was worth a hundred years of ordinary life." He had complimented the Vizier on the great improvement he had seen since his previous stay in this country, and said that he was agreeably surprised to find that the Makhzen had been able to do so much.

The Administration, which had been able to accomplish so much, would undoubtedly be able to do much more even by itself, and added a long eulogy of what the Turks had been able to do by themselves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 221.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 9.)

(No. 108.)
My Lord, *Buryan, May 23, 1905.*

I AM informed that on their passage up to Fez some officers of the German Mission openly stated that they had every hope of the Sultan's being induced to employ German officers for the reorganization of the Moorish army.

They also stated that they hoped that a European Conference would still be called for the settlement of the affairs of Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 222.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 2.)

(No. 109.) *British Mission to Fez, 4th Camp, El Kasar,*
My Lord, *May 25, 1905.*

SOME rumours of German activity at Fedallah, some 10 miles north of Daralbaida, having reached me, I caused inquiries to be made, and am now informed that they are buying all the land they can in that neighbourhood. The Dragoman of the German Consul at Daralbaida has several times observed that Fedallah could be made a good port, and that it was the best site for factories and warehouses. German surveyors—probably the same who were recently at Tangier—were expected there recently, and I understand that the French have also obtained permission to "faire les études du port," so they will doubtless be able to obtain some information on the subject. Comte de Chérisey recently had heard nothing of German activity there.

There were recently some rumours of a German Commercial Mission fitting out at Gibraltar for Morocco, but I can find no confirmation of it, the Deputy-Governor having informed me that although between the 1st and 19th May forty-nine Germans left Gibraltar for Tangier, some ten or twelve of whom were commercial travellers who had visited Gibraltar on previous occasions, no expedition had actually fitted out there.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 223.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne—(Received June 2.)

(No. 110. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *El Kasar, 4th Camp, May 25, 1905.*

FROM information I have received from Fez it seems that the impression is that the German Mission and the Makhzen are in disaccord, and it is thought that the Mission may soon leave the capital. It seems that when Count Tattenbach denounced the French programme he was eagerly listened to, but he too precipitately pointed out that what was given to the French must be given to other Powers, and even seems to have gone so far as to urge the Makhzen to give a written promise of the participation of Germany in the creation of public works, ports, instruction of the army, railroads, and so on. Count Tattenbach seems, from the account I have received, to have asked for something in writing, and at once, which naturally alarmed the Sultan and his Viziers, and they had no idea of conceding it

With regard to the proposed Spanish Mission, it is reported that the Minister when he proposed coming had intimated that it was for the purpose of urging the

acceptance of the French proposals. This had caused irritation at Court and some delay in answering the Minister. The reply does not appear to have been yet sent off.

Count Tattenbach apparently threatened to leave if his requests were not complied with, doubtless with the object of impressing the Makhzen with the idea that if he was allowed to go empty away the Makhzen would lose its only friend.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 224.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 3.)

(No. 54.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, May 31, 1905.*

THE public and officials accorded us a most courteous reception on our arrival to-day, all well.

Cid Torres has just sent me a note, in which he tells me that His Shereefian Majesty intends to introduce reforms adaptable to present circumstances, and that he has been requested to issue invitations to all Governments who have Representatives at Tangier, to confer on the means of giving effect to such reforms, and also from what sources the costs rendered necessary will be defrayed.

Cid Torres asks that I may be authorized to be present, and that I should report the foregoing to your Lordship.

No. 225.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 3.)

(No. 55.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, May 31, 1905.*

MY telegram No. 52 of the 22nd instant.

I hear that His Shereefian Majesty has been, on many occasions, assured by Count von Tattenbach that the German Government had not striven to bring about a Conference.

I am also told that Count von Tattenbach proposed that in return for a loan, either a port or a tract of country in the Sûs might be accorded by His Shereefian Majesty to the German Government.

No. 226.

Mr. Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 3.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, June 3, 1905.*

I HAVE received from the Sultan's Commissioner at Fez the following letter, which was addressed to the Danish Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier, dated Fez, the 30th May, 1905:—

"We have been commanded by His Shereefian Majesty to ask all the esteemed Governments to consent to a Conference at Tangier, consisting of their honoured Representatives, and also of Delegates from the Makhzen, in order that they may discuss reforms contemplated by His Shereefian Majesty, and rendered necessary by present circumstances in this country, and consider from what source the expenses connected with such reforms are to be defrayed.

"Your Excellency is therefore begged to make your honoured Government cognizant of the request of the Makhzen and of the facts above mentioned, in order that you may receive authority to be present at the Conference above alluded to, and let us know their answer."

I request that the Danish Government may be informed of the above, as I am not in possession of a Danish cypher, and that I may receive their instructions.

As no copies of the above letter have been received here for the British, French, or German Governments, I imagine they will have been handed to their respective Ministers now at Fez.

No. 227.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 149.)
My Lord, *Berlin, May 31, 1905.*

I HAVE the honour to report that Dr. Rosen has informed me that no date has yet been fixed for his departure for Morocco. This, he said, would depend upon the length of Count Tattenbach's stay in that country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 228.

Sir M. Durand to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 5.)

(No. 52.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Washington, June 5, 1905.*

AFFAIRS of Morocco.

Mr. O'Beirne was informed by the President yesterday that he had told the German Ambassador that, so long as France objected, the United States' Government could not adhere to a proposal for a Conference of the Powers relative to Morocco.

No. 229.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 30.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, June 5, 1905.*

WE consider that proposal to invoke assistance of all Governments having Representatives at Tangier to discuss administrative reforms so urgently needed is wholly undeserving of support. We could not take part in any such discussion, which would involve participation of several Powers, many of them hardly interested in the affairs of Morocco. The Sultan's project seems to us ill-advised and contrary to the interests of his country, and we desire to dissuade His Majesty from pressing it upon the Powers.

Inform the Moorish Government to this effect in replying to their invitation to the Conference, the receipt of which you reported in your telegram No. 54 of the 31st ultimo.

No. 230.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 363.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 5, 1905.*

I TOOK the opportunity of mentioning to the French Ambassador, in conversation this morning, the statement contained in Mr. Lowther's telegram No. 54 of the 31st ultimo, to the effect that the Moorish Government had suggested that the question of the reforms to be introduced in the administration of the country should be discussed by all the Powers having Representatives at Tangier. I said that the proposition seemed to me to be a most ill-advised one, and that His Majesty's Government did not wish to give it any encouragement. They desired, however, to learn, before pronouncing themselves, how it was regarded by the French Government. His Excellency told me that he shared the opinion which I had expressed, and that he earnestly trusted that we should instruct our Representative to say that we would have nothing to do with the proposal. I subsequently communicated to his Excellency the substance of my telegram No. 30 of this day's date to Mr. Lowther.

During the course of our conversation his Excellency told me that he had learned privately that the French Ambassador at Washington had spoken to Mr. Taft, who had observed that the United States' Government would probably not be favourably disposed towards the idea of a Conference. I told his Excellency that I would take an

opportunity of mentioning the subject to the United States' Government, who, as one of the Powers having a Representative at Tangier, would, no doubt, be consulted. I should endeavour to convince them that the proposal was unsound and should not be entertained.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 231.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir M. Durand.

(No. 150.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 5, 1905.

I MET Mr. Whitelaw Reid again this morning at Buckingham Palace, and I mentioned to him the proposal contained in Mr. Lowther's telegram No. 54 of the 31st ultimo, to the effect that the question of the reforms to be introduced in the administration of Morocco should be discussed by all the Powers having Representatives at Tangier. I observed that this proposal concerned the Government of the United States, as one of the Powers having a Representative at Tangier. It seemed to me to be ill-advised, and I could not conceive a procedure less likely to bring about the salutary reforms which were so much needed in Morocco than a discussion undertaken by ten or a dozen Powers, some of whom had virtually no concern whatever in that country. We should, I said, certainly oppose it. It would be extremely interesting to me to know how it was regarded by the Government of the United States, and I should be grateful for any information with which Mr. Whitelaw Reid might be able to supply me as to this point. His Excellency expressed general concurrence with what I had said, and promised to telegraph the substance of my observations to the Government of the United States.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 232.

Sir M. Durand to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 6.)

(No. 54.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Washington, June* 6, 1905.

MOROCCO. I explained to-day verbally to the Acting Secretary of State the views of His Majesty's Government, as contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 66 of the 5th instant.

He expressed satisfaction, and said that the United States' Government entertained views of a similar character.

No. 233.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 6.)

(No 67. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, June* 6, 1905.

FRENCH Ambassador informs me that the German Ambassador told Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs three days ago, under instructions from his Government, that having learnt that an ultimatum had been addressed by French Minister in Morocco to the Sultan threatening, unless French proposals were accepted, military measures, a German army would cross the French frontier if this threat was maintained.

A telegram was sent by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Italian Ambassador at Berlin, who ascertained that action of German Government was founded on mere vague report, no proof being forthcoming, while, in all probability, no such message had been addressed to the Sultan by the French Minister in Morocco.

Yesterday M. Tittoni telegraphed to Italian Ambassador in London in order that the latter might inform your Lordship.

French Ambassador gave me to understand that Italian Government have little sympathy with this bluster, and, contrary to his expectation, is not much affected by it.

No. 234.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 6.)

(No. 40.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, June* 6, 1905.

AT the Council of Ministers this morning the question of Morocco was discussed, and M. Delcassé has since resigned. M. Rouvier will take his place *ad interim*.

The resignation is not yet officially announced.

No. 235.

Mr. Lister to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 6.)

(No. 41. Secret.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, June* 6, 1905.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 40 of yesterday, I have the honour to report that M. Rouvier sent this morning for M. Lavino, the "Times" correspondent, and stated that there would be no change whatsoever in the policy of France towards the Anglo-French *entente*. I understand that he is no less opposed to the proposed Conference than was M. Delcassé.

No. 236.

Mr. Johnstone to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 6.)

(No. 25.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Vienna, June* 6, 1905.

REFERENCE to your Lordship's telegram No. 30 of yesterday to Mr. Lowther.

Circular has been received by Count Goluchowski from the Government of Morocco. His Excellency has instructed Austro-Hungarian Representatives abroad to ascertain views of the Governments interested in the matter.

I could not elicit views of Austro-Hungarian Government on the subject, having been unable to see Count Goluchowski personally.

No. 237.

Vice-Consul Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 7.)

My Lord, *Tangier, June* 1, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that yesterday evening, M. de Cherisey, the French Chargé d'Affaires, called on me to inform me that he had just received a letter from M. Saint-Réné Taillandier announcing that late on the evening of the 28th ultimo, he had received from the Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs, a communication, in which he was informed that the Council of Notables had advised the Sultan not to accept the proposals put forward by France for the reorganization of His Shereefian Majesty's army.

Sid-bin-Sliman went on to inform M. Saint-Réné Taillandier that His Majesty had sent instructions to the Moorish Commissioner for Foreign Affairs at Tangier, to address to each Representative, at that place, of the Signatory Powers of the Madrid Convention, an invitation to attend a Conference at Tangier, to discuss a scheme for military reorganization, and certain proposals for reform which would be made by the Moorish Government through their Delegates at the Conference.

The Moorish Commissioner for Foreign Affairs informed me this morning that he had received no communication lately from the Court with reference to the French negotiations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND WYLDBORE SMITH.

No. 238.

Mr. Lister to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June 7.*)

(No. 42.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, June 7, 1905.*

I ATTENDED M. Rouvier's first reception at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in the temporary absence of the Ambassador.

His Excellency said that he felt there was no need to assure me that there would be absolutely no change in French policy towards Great Britain. He was generally known to be an Anglophil, and he fully intended to assist the interests of peace by loyally working for the development of the understanding existing between the two countries.

I met the Dutch Minister at the reception, and gathered from him that the German Government had asked his Government to give their support to the suggested Conference respecting Morocco.

The German Chargé d'Affaires arrived whilst I was waiting, and told me he was there by appointment, and I have heard privately, on good authority, that there is no doubt that M. Rouvier is anxious to settle the present question with Germany by arrangement.

No. 239.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Lascelles.

(No. 128.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 7, 1905.*

THE German Ambassador asked me to receive him yesterday in order that he might have an opportunity of making to me a communication upon a subject of urgent importance.

His Excellency called upon me in the evening, and read to me a Circular despatch which he told me had been addressed by the German Government to the Powers who had signed the Madrid Convention of 1880. The Circular, of which His Excellency left a copy with me, runs as follows:—

"According to a telegraphic report from the Imperial Legation at Tangier, the Moorish Government have invited the Signatory Powers of the Madrid Convention to a Conference at Tangier, for the purpose of considering the reforms, rendered necessary by the present condition of affairs in Morocco, which have been determined upon by His Shereefian Majesty, as well as the question of the creation of the means necessary for their execution.

"The Imperial Government, in accordance with the declarations which have previously been made by them, consider that the best means for the introduction of these reforms are to be found in such a Conference. For since the said reforms can presumably only come into operation with the support of the Signatory Powers, the possibility of their introduction is limited by the provisions of the Madrid Convention, especially by Article XVII, according to which each of the Signatory Powers is entitled to most-favoured-nation treatment in Morocco, and consequently no Power can be granted preferential treatment. The proposed work of reform could, therefore, only take shape with the concurrence of all the Signatory Powers. Moved by these considerations the Imperial Government have accepted the invitation of Morocco.

"If the Conference should be rendered impossible owing to the refusal of individual Signatory Powers, the consequence would be that the Treaty conditions existing up to the present would be maintained unaltered. No change in this situation would result if certain of the Signatory Powers were to declare that they are in agreement with the measures projected with regard to Morocco, or that they took no interest in the matter. For, in accordance with what has been shown above, the opposition of a single Signatory Power would be sufficient to render unlawful the concession of any special privileges which are inconsistent with the most-favoured-nation rights of other Powers.

"Apart from the legal standpoint developed above, the Imperial Government cannot do otherwise than regard the Conference as useful, because, quite independently from the legal question, the existing political and commercial interests of the Signatory Powers might be prejudiced by the granting of special rights to individual Powers, and the Conference would offer a fitting means of bringing about an understanding."

His Excellency proceeded to read to me the substance of a despatch by which the Circular was accompanied. It was to the following effect, and had reference to the recent action of the French Government in Morocco:—

In the view of the German Government the Madrid Convention of 1880 did not represent a Treaty concluded between Morocco on the one hand and the rest of the Powers on the other, but an Agreement concluded by all the Signatory Powers with one another, so that each individual Power was under an obligation to all the rest to treat the stipulations of the Treaty as binding. France, therefore, in case she desired to acquire special rights in Morocco inconsistent with the stipulations of the Convention, would require to obtain not only the consent of Morocco, but also that of the rest of the Powers. The German Government were satisfied that the special rights which France was now endeavouring to obtain would entail a violation of Article XVII of the Convention, under which most-favoured-nation treatment was secured to all the Signatory Powers. Although the details of the proposals made by France to Morocco were not yet known, it was at all events evident that France desired that the Sultan's Government should grant her by Treaty the right of controlling the domestic administration of the country, as well as its foreign representation, and also its entire army system. Morocco would, therefore, be in the position of granting to France a preferential treatment *vis-à-vis* of the rest of the Powers. It would thus come to pass that France, as she did in Tunis, would acquire a hold upon the entire administration, and would thereby influence every decision of the Moorish Government. She would thus bring Morocco under her power both politically and commercially. That any single Power should acquire such a position in Morocco would be inconsistent with Article XVII of the Convention, and if the Powers were to acquiesce in such action on the part of France, they would in effect entirely surrender the rights guaranteed to them by that Convention. On the other hand, by protesting against the action of France, the Powers would merely be taking up the defence of the existing legal status of Morocco.

I told his Excellency that the communication which he had made to me seemed to me to be of great importance, and I, therefore, desired to consider it carefully and to submit it to my colleagues before expressing any opinion with regard to it on the part of His Majesty's Government. I said, however, that I was under the impression that the Convention of 1880 was one which had been entered into mainly for the purpose of arriving at an understanding as to the manner in which persons entitled to the protection of the Powers were to be treated when resident in Morocco, and that the most-favoured-nation treatment clause to which his Excellency referred, although drawn in general terms, was to be interpreted with reference to its context, and was, therefore, not of general application, but limited to the subject with which the Convention was specially concerned. His Excellency observed, as to this, that the language of Article XVII contained no such qualification as I had suggested. I replied that the qualification, if there was one, was, to my mind, to be found in the preamble and other clauses of the Treaty.

I went on to say that I could not help thinking that a Conference including fourteen Powers, many of whom had practically no interest in the affairs of Morocco, seemed to me a singularly inappropriate agency for the elaboration of those domestic reforms of which Morocco stood so much in need. I did not pursue the matter further. M. Delcassé's resignation had just been announced, and I therefore thought it prudent to obtain further information as to the attitude of the French Government, and also as to the correctness of the description given by the German Government of the action of France in Morocco, before making any definitive statement as to the manner in which the German proposal would be regarded by His Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 240.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 364.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 7, 1905.*

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon. I communicated to him the Circular, suggesting a Conference with regard to the affairs of Morocco, which Count Metternich left with me yesterday. I also made him aware of the substance of the contents of the despatch accompanying the Circular, which Count Metternich had

read to me. I also informed his Excellency of the observations which I had made to Count Metternich. I went on to say that, before expressing a final opinion upon the German proposal, either to the German Ambassador or to any of his colleagues who might question me upon the subject, it seemed to me essential that I should know how the matter was regarded by the French Government. At the same time I recognized that M. Delcassé's unfortunate resignation complicated the situation, and might render it difficult for his Excellency to answer my question.

M. Cambon replied that he had received from M. Rouvier a short telegram announcing that it was his intention to continue "la politique ferme et loyale dont s'est inspiré le Gouvernement de la République," and begged for M. Cambon's assistance in giving effect to it. He was, however, without instructions as to the German Circular, which he thought had very likely not been addressed to the French Government. In these circumstances his Excellency considered that it might be better that I should for the moment withhold a positive expression of the opinion of His Majesty's Government.

I told his Excellency that I would adopt this line, although I should admit that we had discouraged the proposal which had been made to us by the Moorish Government.

We had some conversation upon the subject of the Convention of 1880, to which the German Government appealed. I said that my first impression had been that, as stated in the Preamble of the Convention, it dealt solely with the question of protection and connected questions concerning the rights of protected persons in Morocco. Article XVII, which secured most-favoured-nation treatment to all the Signatories, was, however, not accompanied by any reservation, and I could not of course undertake to say how it would be interpreted if it were referred to high legal authority. I asked his Excellency, however, whether, even assuming that the Article was of general application, the French Government were doing anything in Morocco which could be properly represented as denying most-favoured-nation treatment to other Powers. His Excellency replied that the only stipulation which might be regarded in that light was the clause in the Anglo-French Declaration, under which a right to equal treatment was accorded to other Powers only for the next thirty years. He did not consider that in any other respect had there been any approach to a denial of most-favoured-nation treatment.

We had some further conversation as to the propriety of referring the question of reforms to a Conference at which so large a number of Powers would be represented. His Excellency told me that, from a conversation which had taken place between himself and the Italian Ambassador, he had derived the impression that the Italian Government would not improbably suggest that a Conference might, perhaps, be held, but limited to the Representatives of the Great Powers.

His Excellency also told me most confidentially that he had heard from the Italian Ambassador a story to the following effect: The German Ambassador at Rome had told M. Tittoni that the French Minister in Morocco had laid an ultimatum before the Moorish Government. The German Ambassador said, as to this, that if, in support of that ultimatum, French troops were sent across the Moorish frontier, it would be considered a *casus belli* by Germany, and German troops would cross the frontier of France. M. Cambon told me that he was convinced that if anything of the kind had been said by M. Monts, he had not been instructed to use such language.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE

No. 241.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir M. Durand.

(No. 151.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 7, 1905.*

THE American Ambassador called at the Foreign Office to-day for the first time. He was authorized to tell me that the President had informed the German Ambassador at Washington that he did not see how the United States could take part in any Conference as to Morocco unless France acquiesced. The President had made a similar statement to M. Jusserand, but did not desire that publicity should be given to the matter.

I had some conversation with Mr. Whitelaw Reid as to the situation in Morocco

and the manner in which it was affected by M. Delcassé's resignation. I gave his Excellency a short account of the purport of my conversation with M. Cambon (see my despatch No. 364 of the 7th instant to Sir F. Bertie) and we agreed that in the circumstances it would be better to "mark time" so far as the proposed Conference was concerned.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 242.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir E. Egerton.

(No. 93.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 7, 1905.*

THE Italian Ambassador discussed with me at some length this afternoon the question which has arisen between Germany and the Powers with regard to Morocco.

His Excellency informed me that the German Ambassador at Rome had made to M. Tittoni a statement to the following effect: The French Representative in Morocco had told the Sultan that the Mediterranean Powers had declared themselves against a Conference, and had come to an agreement to oppose German influence in Morocco ("contester l'influence Allemande au Maroc"). The French Government had accordingly, without making a formal declaration upon the subject, caused it to be known that if the Sultan resisted the French demands France might invade his territories. The German Ambassador had told M. Tittoni that such action on the part of France would be regarded by Germany as an insult to her and a provocation to war, for which she was ready ("pour laquelle l'Allemagne était prête"). In these circumstances, the Moorish Government had suggested a Conference of the Powers, and the German Government thought that such a Conference was the only way out of the difficulty. M. Tittoni had replied that, so far as Italy was concerned, he had already made it clear to the French Government that Italy had no special political interests in Morocco.

His Excellency admitted that the above story had probably originated in exaggerated or unauthorized statements made by the German Ambassador, who was fond of using strong language.

Signor Pansa had been instructed to ask how His Majesty's Government regarded the suggestion of the German Government that a Conference of the Powers signatories of the Madrid Convention of 1880 should be held. I told his Excellency that a proposal had been made to us on the part of the Sultan's Government to the effect that the question of reforms should be discussed by the Powers having Representatives at Tangier, and that we had at once replied that we thought the suggestion most inappropriate, and instructed our Minister to advise the Sultan to give it no encouragement. An analogous proposal was now made to us from a different source and in a new form—that, namely, of an appeal to the Madrid Convention. I had not yet had an opportunity of consulting my colleagues as to the manner in which the proposal should be received. Moreover, M. Delcassé's resignation left us for the moment in some doubt as to the attitude of the French Government. In these circumstances, I was obliged to reserve my answer to his Excellency's question.

His Excellency, at the close of our conversation, begged me to remember that, should there be any prospect of an amicable settlement of the difficulty which had arisen, the Italian Government would most gladly take part with us in bringing about such a solution.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 243.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 8.)

(No. 43.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, June 8, 1905.*

AT the Council of Ministers held last Tuesday M. Delcassé stated his view that an identic note should be addressed to the Sultan of Morocco by the French, English, and Spanish Governments declining the Conference.

This view did not meet with support of his colleagues.

I learn the above on excellent authority.

No. 244.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 8.)

(Separate.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, June 8, 1905.*

M. DE CHÉRISEY tells me that Vice-Admiral Gourdon and two Rear-Admirals with some ships of the French Mediterranean Squadron will reach Tangier from Algiers on the 14th instant in the morning.

The visit will probably last a few days.

Before His Shereefian Majesty had refused the French proposals, so M. de Chérisey tells me, this visit had been determined on.

No. 245.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 35.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, June 8, 1905.*

MOROCCO Conference. My telegram No. 30 of the 5th instant.

A Circular addressed by the German Government to the Signatories of the Madrid Convention was communicated to me yesterday by the German Ambassador. It states that Germany considers that such a Conference as has been proposed by the Moorish Government offers the best means for introducing the contemplated reforms. It adds that the Imperial Government rely on Article XVII of the Madrid Convention, under which no Power can have preferential position, all the Signatory Powers being entitled to most-favoured-nation treatment. The Imperial Government have, therefore, accepted the invitation to attend the Conference.

I told his Excellency that you had been instructed to discourage, as ill-adapted to secure the desired object, the Moorish proposal that the question of reforms should be discussed by all the Powers having Representatives at Tangier. I added that before further considering the matter, it seemed desirable in view of the resignation of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to await information respecting the attitude of the French Government.

No. 246.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Lascelles.

(No. 131.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 8, 1905.*

I ASKED the German Ambassador to call upon me this evening after the meeting of the Cabinet, at which the situation in Morocco had been discussed.

I told his Excellency that I felt sure that he would expect me, now that I had had an opportunity of discussing the matter with my colleagues, to add something to the personal observations which I had made when, on the 6th instant, he communicated to me the German Circular.

I wished, in the first place, to make him aware of a fact which we did not feel justified in withholding from his knowledge. It was this, that we had learned from our Minister, in a telegram dated from Fez and received by us on the 3rd instant, that the Moorish Government had invited all the Governments represented at Tangier to discuss the manner in which effect might be given to reforms suitable to the present condition of affairs in Morocco. His Majesty's Government had, immediately on receipt of this proposal, desired Mr. Lowther to inform the Moorish Government that, in their opinion, the proposal was not deserving of encouragement. Such a discussion would involve the participation of a large number of Powers, many of them having no interest worth speaking of in Moorish affairs. The procedure, moreover, did not seem to us well calculated to attain the object in view, and we had instructed Mr. Lowther to dissuade the Sultan from pressing it upon the Powers.

We now found that the proposal had been taken up by the German Government, and that they supported it by an appeal to the Madrid Convention of 1880. This, no doubt, somewhat altered the situation, and it was still further modified by M. Delcassé's resignation. We were at present without information as to the attitude of the reconstructed French Government, and we had therefore come to the conclusion that, for the moment, it would be better that we should reserve our opinion. I added that, so far as the question of reforms was concerned, we remained of opinion that the Conference was not likely to prove an efficacious remedy. Our experience of similar attempts made by a large number of Powers to arrive at an agreement as to schemes of reform was not of a very encouraging kind.

His Excellency said that, owing to the singular conduct of the French Government in keeping Germany without information as to her dealings with Morocco, a very complicated position had arisen, from which such a Conference seemed likely to provide a means of escape. He repeated to me that, although the German Government had not been able to obtain any definite account of the French programme, it was clear that the French Government was endeavouring to obtain exclusive control of the country. He added that the German Government had no desire to reap a diplomatic triumph at the expense of France or to humiliate her; she could not, however, afford to be ignored, and her only wish was to maintain the "legal status" of Morocco, which would be impaired by the conduct of the French Government.

I said that I gathered from what his Excellency had told me that the Conference, if it were to meet, would be expected to deal not only with the introduction of reforms, but with the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Morocco, and the preservation of the open door. His Excellency said that this was the case. I asked him whether it was quite clear that what France was doing in Morocco really implied a disregard of these principles or a denial of most-favoured-nation treatment to other Powers. The acquisition of that influence which a civilized Power naturally exerts over a barbarous one when the two are in close contact must, I thought, always tend to place the civilized Power in a privileged position, but that influence did not seem to me to involve any wrong to others. If the civilized Power took upon itself the white-washing of the prisons, the reorganization of the police, or the improvement of roads and railways, all the other Powers could scarcely expect to be allowed to do the same. I asked his Excellency whether Germany did not enjoy a privileged position in Shantung. His Excellency denied that Germany was doing in Shantung what France was attempting to do in Morocco. He said that he quite understood that it should be necessary for France to act as "policeman" in the regions adjoining the Algerian frontier, but if the policeman proceeded to lay hands upon the whole country and its administration the other Powers could not be indifferent. It seemed to him that it now rested entirely with France to say whether an amicable settlement of the difficulty should be arrived at, or whether the present situation of uncertainty and unrest should be prolonged. His own impression was that the French Government would come to terms, "if," his Excellency said, "you do not stiffen their backs for them."

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 247.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Cartwright.

(No. 64. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 8, 1905.*

THE King of Spain was pleased to give me an audience this morning at Buckingham Palace. His Majesty expressed himself in the most cordial terms with regard to the relations between Spain and Great Britain, and dwelt with the utmost satisfaction upon the manner in which he had been received in this country.

I subsequently had an interview of some length with M. de Villa-Urrutia, who was also most friendly in his language. We discussed at some length the situation which had arisen with regard to Morocco. His Excellency had not yet seen the German Circular which Count Metternich communicated to me on the 6th instant. He told me, however, that the Spanish Government had discouraged the proposal made by the Moorish Government, and were prepared to act with this country and with France in dealing with any similar proposals. They would, indeed, be ready to join with us in an identic reply. We agreed, however, that, having regard to the situation created by M. Delcassé's resignation, it might be better to defer a decision as to the manner in which the German Circular should be received until more was known of the attitude of the French Government. His Excellency suggested that if the French

Government, in order to placate Germany, were to agree to a Conference, it would be difficult for the other Powers to object. In reference to the appeal made by the German Government to the Madrid Convention of 1880, his Excellency observed that he had always regarded that Convention as dealing entirely with the rights of protected persons and matters closely connected with them.

I told his Excellency, explaining that I did so unofficially and without authority from my colleagues, that it had occurred to me of late that a mutually advantageous arrangement might be made between Spain and Great Britain, under which Spain might undertake that she would not alienate to a third Power some of the important strategic points included in her possessions. I referred in particular to the places owned by Spain on the Moorish sea-board, the Balearic Islands, the Canaries, and Fernando Po. The kind of arrangement which I had in my mind was that Spain might agree not to alienate any of these, and that we should undertake to support her in denying them to any other Power which might attempt to wrest them from her. I thought, however, that if any such understanding were to be arrived at, it would be expected by His Majesty's Government that some arrangement should be made for the purpose of securing Gibraltar from exposure to attack from the Spanish mainland.

His Excellency received my suggestion in the most friendly manner. He observed that France had at one time certainly taken an interest in the future of the Balearic Islands, which might have been of great value to her in the event of a war with England. I said that whatever might be decided, our relations with France were of such a kind that in my opinion nothing could be settled as to the disposal of these places except with the full knowledge of the French Government. His Excellency told me that he would have much pleasure in considering my suggestion, and discussing it further with me at a future time.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 248.

Mr. White to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 9.)

(Separate.)
My Lord, *Tangier, May* 23, 1905.

THE German Chargé d'Affaires informs me that Count von Tattenbach has already had four interviews with the Sultan, and that His Majesty had discussed with him the various reforms it had been proposed to introduce. The discussions had been interrupted by the Moorish Feast, during which all business is suspended at the Court, but would be continued as soon as the Feast was over. M. von Kuhlmann said that the desire of the Sultan appeared to be to submit the proposed reforms to the foreign Representatives at Tangier, in order that they might discuss them and come to an agreement as to the recommendations to be made to the Sultan. He was not clear as to whether the reforms referred to were those proposed by the French Minister or others to be prepared at the Court.

M. von Kuhlmann told me that Count von Tattenbach had been very favourably impressed by the Sultan, who was intelligent and appeared to be sincerely anxious of doing the best for his country. He added that His Majesty was annoyed that M. Delcassé had stated that the French proposals had been accepted in principle. His Majesty denied that this was so, or that the discussion of the details implied any acceptance of the principle.

M. von Kuhlmann confirmed a report that reached me from His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Fez, to the effect that the Prussian Order of the Crown of the First Class had been bestowed upon all the Viziers. It had originally been intended to bestow it only upon Sid Ben Sliman, but it was eventually decided to give it to all the Viziers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. E. WHITE.

No. 249.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 9.)

(No. 56.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 4, 1905.

MY telegram No. 54 of the 31st May.

I am told that some of the Ministers are beginning to feel anxious as to the sagacity of having requested a Conference from which France might receive authorization to execute reforms.

M. Saint-René Taillandier is of opinion that, in order to give His Shereefian Majesty and his Government a shock, it is most desirable that a refusal of the invitation to attend a Conference should be dispatched without delay.

M. Saint-René Taillandier is very nervous as to the immediate future, and is afraid lest His Shereefian Majesty, in his present mood, should accord something to Count von Tattenbach.

Ben Sliman, however, in answer to confidential enquiries, affirmed that His Shereefian Majesty, in accordance with a new system which he has adopted, will refuse to grant anything until the same has been laid before the Notables. Ben Sliman also stated that no German requests had come before this Council.

No. 250.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 9.)

(No. 57.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 5, 1905.

I HAVE had lengthy interview with all the Ministers.

It is clear that, by command, all responsibility for reforms is to be cast upon the Council of Notables.

The possibility that the Powers would not accept the invitation to respective Governments does not seem to have struck any of the Ministers.

No. 251.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 9.)

(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, June* 9, 1905.

REFERRING to your Lordship's telegram No. 35 of yesterday to Mr. Lowther: Morocco.

Before replying to German Circular, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs is awaiting further information.

In the main attitude of Italian Government accords with that of Austria, but, the former having engagement with France in regard to Morocco, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs has advised French Government to endeavour to arrive at a conciliatory solution of present dilemma.

No. 252.

Mr. Johnstone to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 9.)

(No. 26.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Vienna, June* 9, 1905.

REFERENCE to your Lordship's telegram No. 35 of yesterday to His Majesty's Representative at Fez respecting Morocco.

Circular addressed by Germany to Signatories of Madrid Convention, in consequence of Moorish proposal for Conference of all Powers represented at Tangier, has been received by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

I learn from M. de Mérey that, provided other Powers interested also accept, Count Goluchowski has practically decided to accept invitation of Moorish Government.

In reply, I informed M. de Mérey that until His Majesty's Government were acquainted with the attitude of the French Government in the matter they would defer consideration of the German Circular.

No. 253.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 372.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 9, 1905.*

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon. He told me that he had received from M. Rouvier a despatch on the subject of Morocco, from which he learned that the German Ambassador at Washington had presented to the American Government a Circular with explanations similar to that which Count Metternich had presented to me on the 6th instant. The German Chargé d'Affaires at Paris had made a similar communication to the French Foreign Office.

In reply to the former of these communications President Roosevelt had said that he United States would have been glad to agree to a Conference if France had regarded the proposal with favour. As, however, the United States' Government did not desire to occasion any embarrassment to the French Government, he was not disposed to accept the invitation.

His Excellency told me, in reference to the complaints of the German Government, that the French Government had undoubtedly put forward a scheme of domestic reforms directed principally to the object of increasing public security in Morocco, but that no demand had been made either for a right to direct the internal affairs or the external relations of that country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 254.

Foreign Office to Native Races and Liquor Traffic United Committee.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 9, 1905.*

I AM directed by the Marquess of Lansdowne to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo, respecting the importation of liquor into Morocco, and to inform you, in reply, that a copy of it has been sent to His Majesty's Minister in Morocco, with instructions to consult with his French colleague as to any steps they may be able to take in the matter during their present visit to Fez.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. GORST.

No. 255.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 10.)

(No. 58.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June 7, 1905.*

MY telegram No. 54 of the 31st ultimo.

It is most desirable, even if Great Britain, Spain, and France, should reply without delay refusing a conference, that this should be succeeded by non-acceptance by some secondary Power.

Count von Tattenbach will, without doubt, explain to the Shereefian Government that the three Powers have combined not to accept, and further refusals by other Powers would have a beneficial result after the first shock of this defeat.

No. 256.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 10.)

(No. 59.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June 7, 1905.*

SIR N. O'CONOR'S despatch of the 1st May.

I am sure the idea of dispatching a special Mission from the Sultan of Turkey would not be welcome here, although it is suggested by German Government.

The Moors are most suspicious of any interference by the Turks in their concerns, and they might interpret a Mission in such a light.

No. 257.

Sir M. de Bunsen to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 11.)

(No. 50. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Lisbon, June 8, 1905.*

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me yesterday that the German Chargé d'Affaires had just called upon him to say, under instructions from his Government, that Germany had accepted the invitation of the Government of Morocco to take part in an international conference for the discussion of the affairs of that country.

Senhor Villaça added that he had expressed no opinion as to the reply which it was desirable that Portugal should give to this invitation. He was awaiting, he said, a report from the Portuguese Minister in London, who he hoped would be able to inform him of your Lordship's views on the question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. DE BUNSEN.

No. 258.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 11.)

(Separate.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, June 11, 1905.*

MY telegram, Separate, of the 8th June.

The visit of French men-of-war to Tangier, to which I referred in my telegram above cited, has, so M. de Chérisey tells me, been counter-ordered.

The cause of this change is, he supposes, a wish to avoid any opportunity of angering Germany.

No. 259.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 12.)

(No. 111.)

My Lord, *British Mission to Fez, 9th Camp, May 30, 1905.*

I HAVE just received information from Mr. Vice-Consul MacLeod to the effect that the French Minister had informed him that he had learned that the Makhzen had declined Count Tattenbach's proposals of the nature of creating new German interests in Morocco, but that his proposal that the Sultan should convoke a Conference of the Powers Signatories of the Madrid Convention had met with a more favourable reception. This had been much pressed upon the Sultan in order to obtain something before my arrival.

Mr. MacLeod immediately asked Ben Sliman whether this was true, but merely received a reply that the question was under discussion.

In the meantime the French Minister had read to Ben Sliman a declaration on the part of the French Government to the effect that in the event of the Makhzen's reply to the French proposals not being satisfactory, the French Government would be forced to change its policy on the frontier from the present attitude of friendly assistance to that of insistence upon strict and immediate fulfilment of the Makhzen's obligations, and the withdrawal of the facilities for the passage of Moorish troops through Algeria, to which the Sultan had merely replied that all would be well.

A powerful clique at the Palace was, however, urging upon the Sultan the advisability of settling the matter before I came, so as to avoid discussion with me.

Later on the French Consul had sent Mr. MacLeod a message to the effect that the Makhzen had decided to call a Conference of the Powers Signatories of the Convention of Madrid to meet at Tangier, and the French Minister informed him that he had received a long communication from the Makhzen to the effect that the notables had advised the Sultan not to consent to any reforms through the intermediary of any other nation, but only with the approval of all the Powers, and that consequently the Conference would be summoned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 260.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 12.)

(No. 112.)

My Lord, *Fez, May* 31, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Mission arrived at the last camp, N'zala Feraji, within 4 miles of Fez, yesterday, at noon. The journey was accomplished without incident, apart from the fact that a delay of two days was occasioned by heavy rains, which made it impossible to move the camp. All the members of the Mission are in good health.

In the course of yesterday afternoon Sid Dris-el-Bookili, the Secretary of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, came to the camp and brought me messages of welcome from the Government. The French Minister likewise sent his Vice-Consul to greet me and wish me welcome.

This morning, at 9 o'clock, El Bookili again came in order to escort me to the town, and, after proceeding a short distance, the Grand Chamberlain of the Court, the Minister of War, Cid-el-Hadj Mohammed Torres, the Moorish Commissioner at Tangier, Cid Benasser Ghannam, and the principal local authorities, met me and repeated the welcome. After an exchange of compliments we proceeded, completely surrounded by a square of soldiers, to the city, numerous tribes being represented. Amongst those who came to view the procession were the French officers and a large number of townspeople. The German Minister also sent out the German Vice-Consul to greet me, and, later on, a military member of the Mission. The high officials of the Makhzen escorted me to the house allotted to me, and during the whole journey repeated courteous expressions of welcome, accentuating the fact that Great Britain was an old friend of this country.

Shortly after my arrival Ben Sliman, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, came also to greet me, and was most cordial. The Viziers showed me all over the house which has been arranged for myself and the Mission, and no pains have been spared in providing such comfort as the city can offer. A large provision of meat, chickens, vegetables, and fruits were also presented to me on my arrival at the house.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 261.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 12.)

(No. 113.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 1, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a translation of the note I have received from Cid Mohammed Torres, containing the request of the Shereefian Government that a Conference may be held at Tangier to discuss the manner of giving effect to the reforms which His Shereefian Majesty intends to introduce into this country.

I have already transmitted by telegraph to your Lordship the substance of this note.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

Inclosure in No. 261.

Hadj Mohammed Torres to Mr. Lowther.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

A SHEREEFIAN order has been issued for me to request all the respected Governments to hold a Conference at Tangier, composed of the honoured Ministers and the officials appointed on behalf of the Makhzen, to discuss the manner of giving effect to the reforms suitable to the present condition of affairs, which His Shereefian Majesty intends to introduce into His Shereefian Empire, and as to the sources from which the expenditure on the reforms will be met.

I therefore trust that your Excellency will inform your friendly Government of the above, and the Moorish Government requests that they will give you their authority to attend the said Conference for the said purpose, and that you will inform me of their reply.

May you continue, &c.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN EL ARBI TORRES.

Fez, 25th Rabia 1st, 1323 (May 30, 1905).

No. 262.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 12.)

(No. 115.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 1, 1905.

THE French Minister told me to-day that, besides the note signed by Sid Mohammed Torres, inviting the Powers to a Conference at Tangier to treat of the reforms, he had two days previously received another note from the Moorish Government, framed in very curious terms, as much stress was laid upon the will of the "people," who, through their Notables, had let it be distinctly known that no reforms must be accepted at the indication of one Power only. In that note the "Powers Signatory of the Madrid Convention" were distinctly mentioned, whereas in the invitation the "Powers" were only mentioned.

M. Saint-René Taillandier said that he hoped that the principal Powers interested would give a very prompt and categorical refusal to the invitation. The next two or three weeks would be a very dangerous time, for he felt convinced that all Count Tattenbach's influence would be brought to bear on the Makhzen to induce them to give some return for the German Minister's advice and support.

Count Tattenbach had, the French Minister said, been extremely violent and exaggerated, and he was convinced that he had gone far beyond his instructions in the language he had used.

Count Tattenbach had worked, and with much success, to persuade the Moorish Government that, although an *entente* on the subject of Morocco existed between Great Britain, France, and Spain, yet that Great Britain and Spain were not very sincere about it, and only desired to make a pretence of supporting France and nothing more.

I promised the French Minister to do what I could to remove this idea from the mind of the Sultan and his advisers, and I thought myself justified in telling M. Saint-René that when I first saw the Ministers on business I would let them see that I did not consider that their recent action with regard to a Conference was in harmony with their protestations of friendship, seeing that this important step was taken when I was at the very gates of Fez, and could with a little delay have been consulted on the matter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 263.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 12.)

(No. 116.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 1, 1905.

COUNT TATTENBACH came to see me to-day to return my call, when I had not found him, and he protested very warmly that he was anxious to leave Fez. The heat was unpleasant and unwholesome, and his French colleague would certainly do nothing in the matter of reforms, for the notables had made a solemn act rejecting the French Minister's proposals, but he gave me pretty clearly to understand that he would not leave his French colleague behind. He then began recounting certain points in the reforms, which were quite inacceptable; but I told him that I was not in possession of the text of the proposals, and I preferred not to discuss them. That some reform was necessary, and that soon, was a conviction that bore itself more deeply on my mind every day. Count Tattenbach declared that although he saw no change for the worse in Morocco during the past few years, yet that he was prepared to urge certain reforms, and in this view the Sultan himself joined.

He said he had nothing whatever to do with suggesting the Conference; that was an idea that came from the Moors themselves.

I asked Count Tattenbach if he had many claims for damages, and whether he knew anything of the condition of the Moorish Exchequer. To this he replied that he had not inquired into the matter, but that he could assure me, on his word of honour (*parole d'honneur*) that he had made no proposals for a loan to the Makhzen, nor had they asked him whether Germany would be prepared to make offers of this nature.

I need not say that this statement is in absolute contradiction to the best information here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 264.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 13.)

(No. 60.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 9, 1905.

YOUR telegram No. 30 of the 5th June.

The Shereefian Government, to whom I have handed your Lordship's answer, seem to be under the impression that even if the Governments chiefly concerned in Morocco refuse to participate in the Conference, it can still be held.

No replies have yet been received from any of the Powers, including France.

No. 265.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 13.)

(No. 61.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 9, 1905.

THE Germans have obtained from His Shereefian Majesty a Concession for the construction at Tangier, for 70,000*l.*, of a quay and warehouses, the outlay to be paid off in ten years.

Count von Tattenbach, as present, exercises complete influence over the Sultan.

He has announced that should there be the slightest demonstration by the French on the Algerian border, German soldiers would be in the French capital in twelve weeks.

His utterances have been exceedingly forcible.

No. 266.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 13.)

(No. 69.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, June* 13, 1905.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 68, Morocco.

Italian Government propose replying to German Government that, if all the Powers agree, they will join Conference.

No. 267.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 13.)

(No. 70.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, June* 13, 1905.

MOROCCO. Continued silence of German Embassy is, according to a telegram from Italian Ambassador in Paris, causing Rouvier disquietude.

M. Tittoni is beginning to suspect some other design on the part of Germany.

He suggested to me that the ground might be sounded by your Lordship at Berlin, but I replied that I saw no reason why apprehension should be shown, and that the proposal of the Moorish Government was the only question before us.

To the French Ambassador he made the same suggestion, I believe.

No. 268.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 14.)

(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 10, 1905.

I HAVE been very confidentially informed by M. Saint-René Taillandier that since he considers that his continued presence in Fez would be of no advantage, he has suggested to his Government that he should no longer remain here; to which he has, as yet, received no reply.

He could, however, only leave on condition that Count von Tattenbach left at the same time.

No. 269.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 14.)

(No. 62.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 11, 1905.

YOUR telegram No. 34 of the 7th instant.

Nothing in the character of an ultimatum to the Shereefian Government has, I am practically convinced, ever been presented on the question of reforms.

In response, however, to expostulations on the part of the Moorish Government, with reference to weapons of war being permitted to pass through Algeria, M. de Saint-René Taillandier affirmed that he must refer to Paris before taking action.

I believe he pointed out to the Sultan's Government that, with regard to allowing money and weapons to pass through Algerian territory, that Government was in a position to make itself unpleasant.

No. 270.

Sir C. Hardinge to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 14.)

(No. 98.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *St. Petersburgh, June* 14, 1905.

YOUR Lordship's telegram No. 190 of the 9th instant: Morocco.

In reply to an inquiry which I addressed to Count Lamsdorff at an interview which I had with him to-day, his Excellency said that the German Ambassador had asked what reply the Russian Government proposed to send to the invitation to take part in an International Conference which had been addressed to them by the Moorish Government. In reply, he had told Count Alvensleben that he wished to know what Powers would take part in the Conference and more of its object before he could give him an answer to his question.

I informed him of the substance of the instructions issued by your Lordship to His Majesty's Representative at Fez.

Count Lamsdorff added that the interests of Russia in Morocco were absolutely nil, but that since he was informed that Austria and Italy were indisposed to take part in the Conference, and that Spain and France had refused to do so, he was unwilling that Russia should stand alone with Germany.

Before replying to the Moorish note, he intended to wait until he had received the text from Tangier.

No. 271.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 14.)

(No. 44.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Paris, June* 14, 1905.

I WAS to-day informed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the German Ambassador no longer refused to discuss matters. M. Rouvier, has not, however, been able to discover what it is the German Government aim at. He maintained to Prince Radolin that the protection question only is treated in the Convention of 1880, and that, in the present case, its most-favoured-nation Article does not apply.

The Ambassador said the German Government interpreted the Convention otherwise—but did not advance any arguments to the contrary.

M. Rouvier did not let me know whether his Government had decided that the suggestion of a Conference should be rejected, but he said that his impression was that the proposal would not now be so strongly insisted on by Germany.

No. 272.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 387.)

Foreign Office, June 14, 1905.

Sir,

I MET the French Ambassador to-day at the garden party given by His Majesty at Windsor, and took the opportunity of having a few minutes' conversation with him.

His Excellency told me that he had seen M. Rouvier since we last met, and repeated to him the substance of my conversation with the German Ambassador (*vide* my despatch No. 128 to Sir F. Lascelles of the 7th instant).

M. Rouvier was, his Excellency said, quite determined to pursue a policy friendly to Great Britain. As to Morocco, M. Rouvier had told Prince Radolin that, in his opinion, a Conference would be either useless or dangerous: useless if, as was quite conceivable, there were no real difference of opinion between the two Powers; dangerous if they entered into it with divergent opinions and without a previous attempt to come to terms. Prince Radolin had said that he would repeat M. Rouvier's observations to the German Government, whose reply had not yet been received.

M. Cambon told me that the French Government learned from Berlin that the German Emperor was absolutely convinced that an offensive and defensive alliance had been negotiated between Great Britain and France. They had even heard from a source which they believed to be absolutely trustworthy that Count Metternich had been instructed to interrogate me upon the subject. I said that nothing of the sort had ever been mentioned to me by Count Metternich.

I told his Excellency that our original refusal to take part in the Conference had now been made known to the Sultan's Government, and that we were prepared to maintain it provided the French Government maintained their objection.

I mentioned that we had heard of a Concession to a German firm at Tangier, and that I proposed to tell Mr. Lowther that he might take an opportunity of warning the Sultan that if His Highness began to distribute Concessions other Powers, including Great Britain, would expect a share.

His Excellency agreed that such a hint might usefully be given.

I am, &c.

(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 273.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 15.)

(No. 160. Most Confidential.)

Berlin, June 12, 1905.

My Lord,

ON the evening of the 10th instant, I had a long conversation with Prince Bülow, whom I had asked to receive me before my departure from Berlin on leave of absence. His Serene Highness said that he was very glad to see me, as he wished to discuss with me fully the relations between our two countries, which, he regretted to say, were far from being satisfactory. During the South African war great animosity was felt in Germany against England. The people had interested themselves in those wretched Boers ("ces misérables Boers") and had become violently excited. Since the war, however, the ill-feeling towards England had died away, and he could assure me that now nine-tenths of the German people asked for nothing better than to live on friendly terms with England. Now the animosity had crossed the Channel and public opinion in England was as bitter or, indeed, even more bitter against Germany than German opinion had been against England during the war. He regretted that this state of

things should exist and that the English press should continue its hostility against Germany. I was aware of the sensitiveness of the Emperor to English opinion, and hardly a day passed without His Majesty sending him a sheaf of English papers to read.

I said that it was a pity that His Majesty read the English papers at all. Unfortunately, His Majesty believed that it was in the power of His Majesty's Government to influence the press, and I had frequently assured His Majesty that this was not the case. I had, however, not been able to persuade His Majesty of the error of his belief.

Prince Bülow said that it was not only of the press that he had to complain, but that he had reluctantly come to the conclusion that His Majesty's Government themselves were animated by hostility towards Germany. On my expressing my astonishment at this statement and observing that the recent appointment of a German Representative on the Board of the Abyssinian Bank, though a small matter in itself, was a proof of their willingness to meet the wishes of the German Government, Prince Bülow said that he could tell me in the strictest confidence, that information had reached him that shortly before M. Delcassé's fall, England had made an offer to France to enter with her into an offensive and defensive alliance against Germany. France had refused, but the fact that the offer had been made was a proof of the unfriendliness of His Majesty's Government towards Germany.

I replied that I was greatly astonished to hear that such an offer had been made, and I was strongly inclined to doubt the accuracy of His Serene Highness' information. Prince Bülow said that it was true that the information was not official, but it came from a source which made it impossible for him to doubt its accuracy.

Prince Bülow went on to say that he had had a long conversation with Count Bernstorff, who had recently returned from England, and had expressed the opinion that the mutual suspicion which existed in both countries was due to a complete misunderstanding ("un malentendu énorme"). Each seemed to think that the other was about to attack her. Now the idea that Germany wished to attack England would appear ludicrous to any German mind. He might just as well say that he was afraid of receiving my visit because he believed that I should pull a revolver out of my pocket and shoot him.

I replied that, personally, I had never believed that Germany intended to go to war with England, but that the idea did not seem to me to be any more ridiculous than that England was about to attack Germany.

The conversation then turned on the question of Morocco. Prince Bülow said that although he did not personally care much about a Conference, he hoped the Powers would agree to it as the best means of settling the question which had been raised. He defended the action of Germany on the ground that if the Sultan had accepted the reforms proposed by France, there would have been an end to the commerce of any other nation in Morocco. The country would have practically become a French protectorate, and all the concessions to be granted in the country would be given to French subjects. Germany had asked for no special advantages for herself, and her object was to keep the door open for all nations.

I said that your Lordship had been good enough to inform me of your recent conversation with Count Metternich in which, although not declining the Conference, you had stated that you had caused the Sultan of Morocco to be informed that you considered the idea an unpractical one. Personally, I did not think the idea a good one. It did not appear to me likely to lead to much, and there was something illogical in the idea of an independent Oriental Sovereign submitting to a Conference of European Powers the reforms he proposed to grant to his own subjects. If, however, it were to lead to a settlement of the question it might be a good thing. Prince Bülow replied that he had not yet received a definitive reply either from England or France, each of whom seemed, as far as he could judge, to wish to throw the onus of refusal on the other.

Prince Bülow, in answer to my inquiries, said that he hoped that peace would now soon be made between Russia and Japan. It was a step in the right direction that the two belligerents should have agreed to appoint Representatives to discuss the question, but they had both declined to give the slightest indication of the terms they would be prepared to accept.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 274.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 15.)

(No. 161. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Berlin, June* 12, 1905.

AFTER my interview with Prince Bülow, of which I attempted to give an account in my preceding despatch of this day's date, I called upon Herr von Holstein, whom I had not seen for a considerable time. In referring to the unsatisfactory relations between our two countries, Herr von Holstein said that if any one had told him two years ago that a war between England and Germany was within the bounds of possibility he would have simply laughed, but now things had reached such a point that it could no longer be considered impossible. There seemed to be even influential people in England who were seeking to familiarize public opinion with the possibility of such a war, which could, by no possibility, bring any advantage to either party.

I repeated a remark which Prince Bülow had just told me had been made by Count Bernstorff, that the strained relations between our two countries were due to a huge misunderstanding. In Germany people seemed to think that England was about to attack, and in England there were people who believed that the German fleet had been built and was always kept in home waters for the sole purpose of attacking England.

Herr von Holstein said it was all very well to bring that forward as a pretext for argument, but I could not surely wish him to believe that any one in England really thought that there was the remotest possibility of Germany making an attack on England. Come, now, did I believe it myself? I replied that I certainly did not believe in the danger of an attack, but the idea was not more absurd than the German fear of being attacked by England.

Herr von Holstein argued that the German fear was much more reasonable. Of course, if we were to attack Germany, the Emperor would stand up to us, but he would certainly never dream of attacking us himself. If we did not want war, what explanation could be given of the constant attacks in the press, the utterances of Admirals and Civil Lords of the Admiralty urging the destruction of the German fleet, and, above all, the offer of His Majesty's Government to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with France against Germany.

I said that Prince Bülow had mentioned this point in his conversation, and that I could scarcely believe that his information was correct. Herr von Holstein replied that, although not official, he feared there could be no doubt of its accuracy. I said that I did not understand how an offensive and defensive alliance with us could be of much advantage to France. We should no doubt be able to pick up some German ships and do enormous harm to her commerce, but we could not come to France's assistance on land, and I understood that the best military opinion was that Germany would not have much difficulty in defeating France. Herr von Holstein said that he believed that Germany would be victorious, but it would not be an easy matter for the French frontier was strongly fortified and the outer crust of France was stronger than in 1870. I said that I was not inclined to believe in war. France certainly did not desire it, and I could not understand what advantage it would bring to Germany, who did not want any French territory.

Herr von Holstein said that he did not apprehend any immediate danger. The Moroccan Question would not lead to any serious complications. He repeated what Prince Bülow had said as to the necessity of the German action to prevent Morocco from becoming a French Protectorate, and he argued that Germany had acted in a most considerate and conciliatory manner. It would have been open to her to declare that the geographical position of Morocco made that country a matter of interest to all the Great Powers of Europe who could not admit that one of them should obtain exclusive influence there. Instead of doing so Germany had merely put forward her commercial interests. She had asked for no special advantages for herself, and any improvement that might take place in Morocco would be to the advantage not only of Germany, but of all the nations who had commercial interests there. As for the proposed Conference he regarded it as a piece of diplomatic etiquette that the Powers who had acquired certain rights in Morocco in virtue of the Madrid Convention should have their say as to the reforms which would benefit them all. This at all events was a proof that Germany was not pursuing a selfish policy, and that she did not wish for any territorial acquisition, although certain articles in the English press seemed calculated to force her to ask for a port.

No. 276*.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 37.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, June* 15, 1905.

CONCESSION to Germany at Tangier referred to in your telegram No. 61.

If you think it desirable, you might point out to Moorish Government that if such concessions are granted to Germany, other Powers, including Great Britain, may insist on being treated in a similar manner.

I said that the idea of a Conference did not smile upon me. Conferences were apt to accentuate rather than smooth over divergencies of opinion. I presumed that Count Tattenbach's Mission to Fez had been successful, and that Germany might consider that she had safeguarded her commercial interests in Morocco. If, however, the Sultan of Morocco really wished to consult the Powers as to the reforms which he proposed to grant to his own subjects, it seemed to me that he might submit his scheme of reforms to the Representatives at Tangier of those Powers who were chiefly interested.

Herr von Holstein said that he thought that this would come to about the same thing as submitting them to a Conference.

With regard to the prospect of peace between Russia and Japan, Herr von Holstein had nothing to add to what Prince Bülow had told me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 275.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 15.)

(Separate.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, June* 15, 1905.

I AM told by M. Koziebrodski that he forwarded the answer of his Government to Fez three days ago. It is an acceptance by Austria of the invitation of the Shereefian Government to be present at a Conference, so long as it is accepted by the other Great Powers.

M. Malmusi tells me that he gave Torres yesterday the answer of the Italian Government, which was to the effect that she would be a party to the Conference on the understanding that the principal Powers would do the same.

The principle of the suggestion is received favourably by both Governments.

No. 276.

Sir C. Phipps to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 16.)

(No. 59. Confidential.)
Brussels, June 13, 1905.

My Lord,

MR. LOWTHER refers, in his despatch No. 102 of the 17th ultimo, to suggestions which had been made at Tangier, that Belgians should be employed in the custom-house, and states the Belgian Minister at Tangier to have declared that he had not heard this idea mooted, and had not put it forward in any form.

The French Minister, when I referred in conversation to the possibility of Belgians being thus employed, remarked that M. de Chérisey could not have advocated such a notion, but that M. de Buisseret, who was, he understood, a very active Belgian Agent, might well have done so, and called my attention to a work published here five years ago, entitled "Le Maroc et les Intérêts Belges," a copy of which he had very recently sent to his Government. Its recommendations had been frequently discussed in the press, and it had pointed to the possibility of a field being offered for Belgian activity in North-West Africa.

In M. Gérard's opinion it would be a mistaken policy were any such notions to be encouraged. The Belgians, instead of acting as the pioneers of international commerce, became themselves assimilated in the countries where their services were utilized. Such, in his view, was the case in Persia, where they had become absolutely devoted to Persian interests. M. Gérard had not, from his conversations with M. de Favereau, derived the impression that His Excellency had any ambitions in Morocco, whatever might be those of the Belgian Representative there.

A copy of the work referred to by M. Gérard, from the pen of M. Collin, is herewith inclosed.* It attracted at the time considerable attention, but the question was not then a burning one.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CONSTANTINE PHIPPS.

* Not printed.

No. 277.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 16.)

(No. 64.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 12, 1905.

THE refusal of the British Government to take part in the Conference has, I am told, produced some impression on His Shereefian Majesty, and has for the moment had a restraining effect on Count von Tattenbach.

On the 28th ultimo, M. de Saint-René Taillandier cautioned His Shereefian Majesty against the Conference, and vigorously insinuated that when reforms were introduced anew, circumstances under which they were proposed might be changed.

This is most likely what Count von Tattenbach, whose audacity is unusual, noised abroad as an ultimatum, since its occurrence was previous to the episode recorded in my telegram No. 62 of the 11th June.

No. 278.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 16.)

(No. 39.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, June* 16, 1905.

I AM informed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that on the 13th June Prince Radolin told the Spanish Ambassador at Paris that the present grave situation would become very serious if the proposals for a Conference were not accepted by France. M. de Villa Urrutia believes that the French Government will accede to a Conference.

During his absence, his Excellency continued, the German Ambassador here laid stress on the advisability of a change in the policy pursued by Spain, and declared that his Government were in the possession of proofs that M. de Villa Urrutia, whose declarations while in Paris had caused them some dissatisfaction, had identified himself with the policy of M. Delcassé. M. de Villa Urrutia does not know what declarations are referred to, and says that the German Ambassador apparently wishes to bring about his resignation. On my expressing the strong hope that no notice would be taken of such attempts at dictation, his Excellency informed me that it had been suggested to him by the Prime Minister that he should offer apologies for any statements which the German Government considered displeasing, but that he was disinclined to adopt this course.

I said that in my opinion apologies on his part appeared to be quite uncalled for.

No. 279.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Lascelles.

(No. 136.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 16, 1905.

I HAVE read with the utmost interest your despatches Nos. 160 and 161, Most Confidential, of the 12th instant, and I entirely approve of the language used by your Excellency on the occasions of your interviews with Prince Bülow and Baron Holstein. I trust that it will have had the effect of dispelling, at all events to some extent, the illusions under which the German Government appears to labour with regard to the feelings and attitude of His Majesty's Government. Some of the statements made to you by these high officials were of a kind which it was difficult for you to deal with in the absence of information which you did not possess. I therefore thought it advisable to supplement what you had said by a few additional words addressed to the German Ambassador at this Court. I made you aware of my intention, and was glad to find that you were entirely in favour of my giving effect to it. I therefore invited Count Metternich to call upon me this morning, and expressed to him the surprise with which I had read your report of the observations addressed to you by Prince Bülow and Baron Holstein as to the relations at this moment existing between the two countries. These observations were characterized by a tone of apprehension for which there seemed to me to be a total absence of foundation. So far as I was able to follow the argument of these personages, the strained relations which were believed to exist between Great Britain and Germany were due, in the first place, to the attitude of the English press, and, in the second, to the belief that Great Britain and France had been

engaged in something like a conspiracy against Germany, a conspiracy which was supposed to have led to the offer by England of an offensive and defensive alliance against Germany, which offer France was said to have refused.

With regard to the attitude of the press, his Excellency, who knew this country so well, must, I thought, be well aware that His Majesty's Government was in no way answerable for the language of our newspapers. Some of them were not sparing of their attacks upon His Majesty's Ministers, and I could easily name one or two journals, amongst those by whom Germany had been most hardly judged, which had, at different times, been not less unsparing in their comments upon the manner in which the foreign relations of this country were conducted.

With regard to the alleged offensive and defensive alliance, the offer of which was cited as a proof of our unfriendliness, I could scarcely believe that the assertion was seriously made, or that the story was worth contradicting. If, however, his Excellency thought that a contradiction from me would serve a useful purpose, I was glad to assure him that no offensive and defensive alliance had ever been offered or even discussed on either side.

I gathered that, in addition to these two points, we were regarded as to some extent responsible for the complications which had arisen in Morocco. As to that, I could only say that, so far as I understood the German policy, as explained to you by Baron Holstein, Germany desired to be regarded as the defender of commercial liberty in that country, and repudiated the idea of pursuing a selfish policy in it. If that were so, there seemed to me to be no antagonism between the British and the German policy, nor were either of them inconsistent with that which was openly proclaimed in the Anglo-French Declaration, or with that which, so far as my information went, France was perfectly content to pursue.

His Excellency thanked me for having spoken to him so frankly on the subject. He repeated with some earnestness his complaint of the manner in which an anti-German campaign was being waged in the British press, but he accepted unreservedly my contradiction of the rumour that we had sought to make an offensive and defensive alliance with France against Germany. As for Morocco, he said that the German Government had given the French Government a year to explain their policy, and that they had proposed a European Conference as a convenient way of clearing up the doubts which existed with regard to it. He admitted however that, so far as Morocco was concerned, Germany had no reason to complain of Great Britain, and that there was therefore no reason why we should quarrel about that country. He expressed an earnest desire that the relations between Great Britain and Germany should be improved, and he did not see why such an improvement should be impossible, citing as a case in point the tension which he said had at one moment existed between the United States and Germany—a tension which he thought had now entirely disappeared and made way for feelings of a very cordial description.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 280.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 393.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 16, 1905.

THE French Ambassador asked me to receive him this afternoon.

He told me that he had not yet received any instructions as to the decision of the French Government with regard to the proposed Conference.

He was, however, able to tell me, but in the strictest confidence, that M. Rouvier and Prince Radolin had again met, and that the latter had intimated that if the French Government would accept the idea of a Conference "in principle" the German Government would be ready to commence a discussion such as M. Rouvier had invited, with a view to an understanding which might render the meeting of the Conference unnecessary.

M. Rouvier was, as I was aware, entirely favourable to the idea of a discussion, but did not like that of a Conference, even in principle. On the other hand, Prince Radolin had let him infer that if the proposal for a Conference were absolutely negatived, Germany would probably give trouble in Morocco. The Sultan might, *e.g.*, be encouraged to pursue an obstructive policy, incidents might arise, and France might have to choose between a public humiliation and conduct which might provoke

a collision between the two Powers. A considerable impression had, his Excellency said, in his opinion been produced on M. Rouvier's mind by Prince Radolin's language.

His Excelloncy told me that he thought he had better return to Paris to-morrow morning, and discuss the situation which had arisen with M. Rouvier, who was new to his work, and must obviously find it difficult to gather up the threads of the negotiations which had taken place. His Excellency asked me what I thought.

I said that it seemed to me that his Excellency's return to Paris could only do good. As for our attitude, he was well aware of it. We had refused to take part in a Conference when the Moorish Government had asked us to do so, and we remained of opinion that a Conference was not the best means of procuring reforms. As for Prince Radolin's suggestion, it seemed to me that he wished to put the cart before the horse, and that the first thing to be done was that France, which was suspected by Germany of having designs upon the integrity of Morocco, and upon the commercial rights of other Powers, should be given an opportunity of explaining what her designs really were. The account of them which his Excellency had given me did not, I said, seem to me to point to anything inconsistent with the requirements which Prince Bülow and other high German officials had put forward in conversation with Sir F. Lascelles.

Until such an exchange of views had taken place I could not see that there was anything to be gained by admitting the theoretical necessity of a Conference, except perhaps to enable Germany, which had brought about M. Delcassé's downfall, to secure a further success. Our attitude must of course depend upon that of the French Government, but if they maintained their refusal, so, most certainly, should we.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 281.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 117.)
My Lord, *Fez, June 2, 1905.*

NEWS has reached me that a Tangier Jew is on his way to Fez with letters for the Sultan from the American Minister and from a Mr. Langermann, who has previously had business dealings with the Court. He is to be followed by two American financiers, who are said to be prepared to lend 5,000,000*l.* (five million pounds) to the Sultan at 4 per cent. interest.

I asked M. Saint-René Taillandier if he knew anything of this, and he replied that it seems to him most unlikely that any serious financiers would at present offer money to Morocco; that in any case the French had a preference under their Loan Contract; and that the French loan could not be paid off under fifteen years.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 282.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 118. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Fez, June 2, 1905.*

IN his despatch of the 23rd May, Mr. White stated that M. Kühlmann had informed him that the Sultan had been annoyed because M. Delcassé had stated that the French proposals had been accepted in principle, and that the Sultan denied that this was so, or that the discussion of the details implied any acceptance of the principle.

I asked M. Saint-René to-day whether he could tell me how far this statement was correct. He said that, when he first came here, the Sultan and his Ministers had been led to expect that the demands of the French were to be very extensive and vexatious, that at one of his first audiences he had propounded the general ideas of reform, and that His Majesty had apparently been much relieved to find that they were so

moderate, and had told M. Saint-René that there were only some details to discuss, and, when he left him, made the observation, "You and I have crossed a high mountain."

As the Moors, however, M. Saint-René added, had no regard for either verbal or written declarations, it was quite possible that the Sultan had given vent to the opinion that he had never accepted in principle the reforms proposed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 283.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 121. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Fez, June 4, 1905.*

IN a conversation with my French colleague to-day he said he could not conceal from me that he awaited the reply of his Government to the Moorish invitation to a conference at Tangier with much impatience. In his opinion it was all-important that the negative reply should be prompt, as it would have a much more decided effect upon the Sultan and his advisers, and, for that reason, he was sorry that the Viziers had not yet indicated a time at which they would receive me, for in their case it was always the first words spoken on the arrival of a Minister that produced the most effect.

He had caused the Minister for Foreign Affairs to be questioned as to whether anything was being actually accomplished by the German Minister, to which his Excellency had replied that nothing had been done nor would be done, at any rate for the present.

His Majesty had recently adopted a new system of taking no important decision without submitting the matter to the Council of Notables, and no German proposals of any kind had been laid before that body.

From a private source I hear that some of the Ministers are beginning to doubt the wisdom of having issued the invitation to the Conference, for they fear that the outcome of it may be that France will be authorized by the majority to take the necessary measures to carry out reforms. Curiously enough it does not seem, so far, to have occurred to them that the invitation may be refused, and that nothing will then have been gained by the Sultan, who will only have laid himself open to a rebuff.

I confined myself strictly to a formal acknowledgment to the Moorish Government of the note of invitation contained in my despatch No. 113 of the 1st instant, not even stating that I had forwarded it to your Lordship, and this appears, from information I have received, to have given them cause for reflection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 284.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 122.)
My Lord, *Fez, June 4, 1905.*

I HAVE the honour to report that 500 men, forming part of the garrison of Fez, are about to leave for Tangier to replace a similar number of men who are about to be sent somewhat hurriedly to Oojda.

It is not very certain that these 500 men will be forthcoming when the time arrives, but it is practically certain that that number will never reach Oojda or Tangier, as the Government are very short of funds.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 285.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 17.)

(No. 123. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 5, 1905.

THE French Minister on my arrival here urged upon me very seriously the necessity of accentuating at my interviews with the Moorish Ministers the fact that the *entente* with France regarding Morocco was genuine, and begged me to do what I could to dispel from their minds the idea that the support of Great Britain in this matter was only half-hearted, an idea which the German Minister had been impressing upon them on every occasion.

I yesterday spent three hours with the principal Ministers of State, including the Grand Vizier and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and, being fully aware of the uselessness of timid language and the possible efficacy of plain speaking, I used very frank language to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, begging him at the same time to be equally frank with me.

I said that ever since my arrival I had heard nothing but polite expressions from Moorish officials and had had a very cordial reception, and what had been specially accentuated was the fact that the friendship with Great Britain was of long standing and one which His Majesty specially valued. Deeds, however, were more valuable than words, and although I was only speaking for myself, I could not help feeling that it was not a very courteous act for the Moorish Government to have taken the decision they had regarding the convocation of a Conference at Tangier when I was within easy reach of Fez, indeed almost at its very gates.

Ben Sliman replied somewhat lamely that had I been here I should have received the communication at the same time as the French and German Ministers, and that certainly no offence or discourtesy was intended.

There can, however, be no doubt that the decision was pressed upon the Makhzen by the German Minister, who urged that the invitations hould be sent before I arrived to guard against the possible event of my taking some action towards preventing its issue.

I then pointed out to him that the manner and form in which the invitation was issued was altogether unusual.

In such cases it was customary first of all to sound the Powers specially interested as to whether they were agreeable to meet in Conference before issuing the formal invitation, and in no case within my knowledge had it ever occurred that the Power convoking the Conference had gone so far as to name the Foreign Delegate who was to represent his country as had been done in this case.

Moreover, His Excellency must be aware that endeavours had only recently been made by a certain Power to ascertain the views of the Powers Signatory of the Convention of Madrid with regard to the meeting of a Conference, and they had proved abortive. It consequently seemed to be a fact to be deplored that the Moorish Government had laid itself open to a rebuff when they appeared to wish to conciliate the Powers.

I then shortly explained the views of His Majesty's Government, and their reasons for thinking the Anglo-French Convention of the 8th April, 1904, provided the best guarantee for the welfare of Morocco, and also for the integrity of the Sultan, and pointed out to him very clearly that that was a solemn act which would not be disturbed by a Conference which might meet the year following its signature.

Ben Sliman replied that the Sultan and his advisers were fully imbued with the absolute necessity for reform, and had, for that reason, called together a meeting of the Notables, who had, after much deliberation, decided that the reforms must be carried out, but that they required these reforms to be considered by the united Foreign Representatives at Tangier, who would then advise them as to the manner in which they should be adopted.

This is evidently the *mot d'ordre* given to the Ministers, for all replied in somewhat the same sense.

The possibility of the Conference never meeting does not appear to have presented itself to their minds, for when I suggested the possibility of some of the Powers abstaining, Ben Sliman appeared to entertain the opinion that the Conference would go on all the same.

To my inquiry as to what the Moorish Government would do if the Powers declined the invitation he had no suggestion to make.

We had some conversation as to the interpretation of the term of the "open door," and he stated that the objection of one Power to the Convention seemed to be that, even if her commercial position were secured, she would be deprived of an equal share of the economic development of the country. I pointed out to him how difficult it would be to obtain equal treatment on this score, for if France was given a concession containing a cost of half a million dollars in the port of Tangier, it was not to be supposed that other Powers could all claim a similar concession in other ports of the Empire.

No mention of the details of the reforms proposed was made, either by his Excellency or by myself—indeed, I carefully abstained from doing so, but laid stress specially on the solidarity of the anglo-French Agreement, which I considered the key to the future success of this country, and observed both to him and to the other Ministers that I thought the army question, by which some security of life and property could be obtained, was of all importance. To this his Excellency observed that the Sultan and Makhzen had accepted in principle the proposals of the French Minister on this subject in a modified form, but that the Notables had refused to accept them unless the Signatory Powers of the Convention of Madrid gave a guarantee that the French Government would not go beyond these reforms. I also suggested that irrigation works, which would be inexpensive, would be of untold advantage, for all the rivers I had passed between Tangier and Fez were wasting their sweetness on the sea rather than being utilized for the land.

Ben Sliman appeared to take all my observations in good part, and I told his Excellency that I was at any time at his disposal, should he wish to consult me.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 286.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 17.)

(No. 125.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 6, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to report that I was to-day received in private audience by the Sultan.

Previous to this audience there was a semi-official audience at the official offices of the Government, at which the Minister for Foreign Affairs was present. It was of a very formal character, and I confined myself to expressions regarding His Majesty's health and welfare, and thanks for the courtesy extended to me on my journey and on my arrival here.

His Majesty made some courteous observations regarding the long-standing friendship between Great Britain and Morocco, which he trusted would never be altered.

Shortly afterwards I was received in the Sultan's private apartments, no one being present except Mr. Irwin, who acted as my interpreter.

At this audience the unmoved and expressionless official demeanour was dropped, and His Majesty was very courteous and smiling, though he confined himself to very few words.

No allusion was made to politics by His Majesty, and I desisted from touching on the subject, it being unusual here to mention such matters at the first audience.

I then presented, on behalf of His Majesty, the presents which I had brought for His Shereefian Majesty, with which His Majesty seemed well pleased, though he made little comment beyond offering the remark that the value of presents was unimportant, but that they served to maintain friendship between States.

His Majesty was throughout most courteous, and Mr. Irwin informs me that his manner was evidently intended to be very friendly.

The conversation not being of a serious nature it is impossible to judge the talents or mental capacity of His Majesty, but his smile at moments became bright and full of expression, and although his replies to my observations were short, they were prompt and intelligent.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 287.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 17.)

(No. 126.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 7, 1905.

SINCE my arrival in Fez I have had lengthy interviews with all the Viziers and with the leading officials, as well as with some merchants, and I venture to lay before your Lordship very briefly some of the impressions I have gained as to their views on the situation.

However much His Majesty may see the necessity for reform, none of his advisers honestly desire them, and will inevitably do what they can, provided they do not offend their Sovereign, to put a stop to their introduction. The feeling against France is acutely bitter. In all the conversations I have had, I have not been able to extract one good word regarding that country from any one, and when asked to account for this want of sympathy they refer to Algeria and Tunis, and to the absence of sufficient guarantee that France will hold to the promises she may make. The Anglo-French Agreement is not considered sufficient in this respect. Some of the Viziers in conversation have not been able to keep up the farce that it is the Notables who have taken the recent decision regarding the Conference. That it was the decision of His Majesty there can be no doubt, a decision taken against the advice of the Grand Vizier and others, and the Notables were clearly put forward in order that, in the event of the necessity occurring of a change of attitude, His Majesty may be able to retreat from his present position with greater dignity. Some of the Viziers appear to be impressed with the fact that the condition of the country is worse now than it has been for some years, but fate plays such an active part in their philosophy that this condition does not much disturb them, and the only reason that they put forward for the present condition of affairs is the presence of the Pretender and the expense to the country of sending troops against him. That France may put on the screw and make things unpleasant for them on the Algeria frontier seems to have but little terror for them. Indeed, their range of view does not seem to go far, and their thoughts are concentrated on maintaining and increasing the wealth that they have evidently been acquiring rather rapidly, before the collapse comes which some of them anticipate.

They now appear to welcome with some satisfaction the idea of the Conference at Tangier, which was, without doubt, suggested to them by the German Minister, judging no doubt that it will postpone for a time the evil day when reform must be introduced, and counting doubtless on a disagreement of the Powers which will still further retard the introduction of reforms. It does not appear to have suggested itself to any of them that a Conference would mean the submitting of an Agreement come to between the three Powers principally interested in Morocco, and the criticism of other Powers, who have less interests in the country.

Some of my informants appear to cherish a scheme by which the reform of the country could be carried out by different countries all working in harmony, namely, by giving the army to one country, the control of taxation to another, the improvement of means of communication to another.

How far the Viziers object to the details of the reforms proposed by M. Saint-René Taillandier I am unable to judge from my conversations, for I have been careful not to discuss any of the suggestions in detail. An impression seems to have got abroad before my arrival that I was coming somewhat in the rôle of an arbiter between France and Morocco, and that in consequence of my representations the French demands would be reduced. As I was anxious to remove this impression I was careful never to touch on the details of any of the reforms whatsoever.

There can be but little doubt that the German Minister, with the policy he has propounded of postponing all question of reform, has acquired for himself much popularity, and he doubtless has expounded to the Viziers, as he has to myself, the idea that reforms can come from within, and that the advice of a foreign Power is not required. But, however much the Viziers would like this idea, I do not believe that even they go so far as to believe that it would be realizable. But should Count Tattenbach ask for concessions for German subjects or like favours it does not seem probable that he will meet with much success, though at the same time it must be borne in mind that the Sultan has the reputation of sometimes acting on the spur of the moment without consulting any one, and under the charm or spell of the person with whom he happens to be in contact.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 288.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 17.)

(No. 128. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 7, 1905.

M. SAINT-RENÉ TAILLANDIER has told told me in confidence that yesterday he received a pressing message from the Makhzen inviting him to confer with them.

They informed him that a caravan destined for the Pretender had been captured, and that amongst the articles seized were found some arms and ammunition from French sources, and they begged his Excellency that this traffic should be put a stop to.

His Excellency replied that he knew nothing of the matter, and that he was obviously not in the position to give any orders to the Governor-General of Algeria. He must first cause inquiries to be made. He, however, took the opportunity of reminding the Ministers that the Algerian Government had up till now been very amiable in facilitating through Algerian territory the dispatch of arms, ammunitions, and provisions for the Moorish Government without exacting any duties, and I gathered from his Excellency that this was said in such a way as to imply a mild threat to which the Makhzen may perhaps be disposed to give some consideration.

As far as I am aware this is the first intimation that the French Minister has given the Moorish Government of the obstacles that the Algerian Government might put in their way.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 289.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 17.)

No. 129. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 7, 1905.

I INQUIRED last night of M. Saint-René Taillandier whether he had ascertained what feeling would be likely to be produced in Moorish circles and on the Sultan when, which appears likely, the principal Powers interested in Morocco make known their intention of declining to take part in the proposed Conference at Tangier to examine the nature of the reforms to be introduced, for, for my part, I had been unable to discover any evidence that this eventuality and the means of meeting it had been seriously considered by them.

M. Saint-René Taillandier replied that the decision had been taken in opposition to the views of some of the Ministers, and notably in direct opposition to that of the Grand Vizier, which is borne out by the information which has reached me, but that he had no indication as to what the next step would be. They would doubtless wait until all the Powers replied, and thus find a new means of gaining time, and ostensibly submit the matter again to the meeting of Notables. If, in the meantime, Germany had gained no practical advantage, her position would be considerably shaken.

M. Saint-René Taillandier gave me, as purely his personal opinion, that under these circumstances he could not see that there would be much advantage in my remaining here any longer as far as the support I was prepared to give him was concerned. Indeed, he himself proposed suggesting to his Government that he should then submit a definite programme of the reforms the French Government proposed, together with a list of their claims, and make it clear that that was what they required, and leave the Makhzen to ruminate over it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 290.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 130. Confidential.)

Fez, June 7, 1905.

My Lord,

AMONG the various rumours which have reached me regarding the demands put forward by the German Minister is one for the granting of the port of Mehedia.

Mehedia is at the mouth of the S'bu, which runs through Fez, and lies about 20 miles north of Rabat, and should this country ever be developed, it cannot fail to become a very important port. At present the town is in ruins.

M. Saint-René Taillandier, whom I asked about this, told me he had no information in support of it, but would make inquiries.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 291.

Consul Maclean to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 20.)

Dar-al-Baida, June 7, 1905.

My Lord,

I HAVE this morning received an express courier from Mr. Vice-Consul Spinney, of Mazagan, conveying the information that a British subject named Daniel Madden, of that town, had been murdered by Moors at 1 A.M. on the 6th instant.

Mr. Madden was Vice-Consul for Denmark and for Austria-Hungary.

He had been resident in the same house for more than twenty years.

On the night of the occurrence Mr. and Mrs. Madden were alone in the house, sleeping on the ground floor.

Four Moors entered by removing a window frame. They found their way to the bedroom, and Mrs. Madden, seeing that they were armed, beseeched them to spare her life, and she would give them everything they asked. She was promptly shot at, the bullet grazing her neck, but she managed to escape into another room, where she hid.

The four Moors must have then proceeded to do Mr. Madden to death. His body was found by the widow under the bed with several bullet wounds and hacked about by daggers.

The British Vice-Consul was communicated with at 4·30 A.M., more than four hours after the occurrence. He sent for the Governor of the town and proceeded to the scene.

I transmit herewith copy of a medical certificate, signed by two doctors, describing the wounds on the deceased.

I propose proceeding to Mazagan to investigate the case and to act as circumstances may dictate.

The information furnished me is obtained from the widow, who cannot at present suggest any motive for the crime.

The object of the assassins was possibly robbery, but they did not search the most likely places for money and appear to have taken nothing of any value away with them.

Inquiry may show that some one owed Mr. Madden a grudge, but to the best of my knowledge he had lived a quiet and inoffensive life and had been ill in bed for several days immediately preceding his death.

The incident will greatly alarm Europeans who live under similar conditions in the coast towns of Morocco.

I have written a despatch to Mr. Vice-Consul Spinney directing him to inform the Governor of Mazagan that I am asking His Majesty's Minister to hold his Excellency responsible for the discovery and arrest of the murderers, and that the Governor will incur grave responsibility for any evasion of this duty.

I have little faith in any sincere endeavours being made, and I am therefore sending a native to act as an independent detective.

It will be necessary to incur some expense, which I shall pray your Lordship to approve.

There is a considerable amount of lawlessness in the coast towns of Morocco, but

this is the first occasion within my knowledge that armed men have entered the house of a British subject and murdered the occupant.

I have reported the incident to His Majesty's Minister in Fez.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ALLAN MACLEAN.

P.S.—Subject to your Lordship's approval, Mr. R. H. Broome will act as Vice-Consul in Dar-al-Baida.

A. M.

Inclosure in No. 291.

Medical Certificate.

NOUS, Soussignés, docteurs en médecine, certifions d'avoir été appelés, ce 6 Juin, 1905, à 5 heures du matin, pour voir M. Daniel Madden, sujet Anglais, Vice-Consul d'Autriche et de Danemark, âgé 69, résidant à Mazagan, lequel avait été assassiné pendant la nuit, d'après ce que l'on nous disait.

Nous avons trouvé le corps de M. Madden dans son lit, gisant dans une mare de sang, couvert d'un drap de lit. A la seule inspection du cadavre nous avons pu constater les blessures suivantes:—

1. Plaie d'arme à feu située à la région temporale droite, pénétrante avec les signes objectifs d'un coup de feu tiré à bout portant.
2. Plaie par instrument tranchant (couteau, poignard) à la région droite, longue de 6 centim. et profonde jusqu'à l'os.
3. Plaie par instrument tranchant, à la région sternale gauche et supérieure, longue de 7 à 8 centim., verticale, qui intéresse tous les tissus sans pénétrer dans la cavité thoracique, mais qui se prolonge de droite à gauche et d'en haut en bas sur une étendue de 18 centim. avec une ouverture sous forme de plaie par instrument tranchant, de 2 centim., sous le mamelon droit.
4. Plaie cutanée de 3 centim. située dans la fosse iliaque gauche, une autre plaie semblable près de la région trochantérieure gauche, enfin encore une plaie superficielle au tiers inférieur de la cuisse gauche.
5. Quatre plaies par instrument tranchant au bras gauche dont deux à la région axillaire assez profondes.

Nous sommes d'avis que les blessures ci-dessus désignées ont été la cause de la mort de M. Daniel Madden.

(Signé) DR. V. HERZEN.
DR. S. SANCHEZ CADDA.

Mazagan (Maroc), le 6 Juin, 1905.

No. 292.

Consul Maclean to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 21.)

Dar-al-Baida, June 9, 1905.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 20 of the 7th instant, relative to the murder of a British subject in Mazagan, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of further communications I have received from Mr. Vice-Consul Spinney, together with the despatch I addressed to him.

The Governor of Mazagan had not replied to the Vice-Consul's representations, but the latter had received information that a native had been arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the murder.

There would appear to exist in Mazagan a general suspicion that a man named Abderhman-ben-Yessif is concerned in the crime. This Abderhman is stated to be a Portuguese-protected Moor, and the chief of a gang of criminals.

I have requested Mr. Wyldbore Smith to invite the Portuguese Minister in Tangier to direct his Vice-Consul in Mazagan to assist me in every way he properly can to discover the murderers.

Another native under suspicion is brother of Abderhman, and is German protected. My German colleague here has jurisdiction in Mazagan, and he has promised me the assistance of the local Vice-Consul.

It does not follow that, because they are suspected, the above-mentioned men are guilty. I have reason to believe that the family of the Governor has for a long time been on bad terms with them, and the rumours pointing to their guilt may be intentionally instigated.

The steamer I intended to sail by failed me, but I am leaving for Mazagan to-morrow by steam-ship "Morocco."

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALLAN MACLEAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 292.

Vice-Consul Spinney to Consul Maclean.

(No. 29.)
Sir,

Mazagan, June 7, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, although thirty hours have elapsed since the Governor knew of the murder of Mr. Madden, he has not informed me of any steps he has taken to find or arrest the murderers; in fact, I know he has not taken any.

I wrote to his Excellency and informed him that I could not understand his inactivity, and, although he told the soldier of this Vice-Consulate that he would reply immediately, he has not done so.

I have also the honour to inform you that I have not removed the archives of the Danish and Austrian Vice-Consulates from Mr. Madden's office, which I sealed up and have had well guarded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. G. SPINNEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 292.

Consul Maclean to Vice-Consul Spinney.

(No. 9.)
Sir,

Dar-al-Baida, June 7, 1905.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 28 of yesterday's date, relative to the murder of Mr. Daniel Madden, and approve of your action as reported therein.

I request you to urge upon the Governor of Mazagan the necessity of obtaining the names of the murderers and their arrest without any delay.

You should make it plain to his Excellency that he will incur grave responsibility for any evasion of his duty, and you will be good enough to report to me at once what steps have been taken.

You can inform the Governor that I am fully aware that in this country such a crime cannot be committed without the criminals being known to a number of people, and that it is within the ability of the local authorities to find out the individuals concerned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALLAN MACLEAN.

Inclosure 3 in No. 292.

Vice-Consul Spinney to Consul Maclean.

(No. 30.)
Sir,

Mazagan, June 8, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your despatch No. 9 of the 7th instant, and to inform you that I have communicated with the Governor as instructed.

I have had no reply from his Excellency to the letters I have written him, but I have heard that he has seized a Moor, who is one of a gang headed by a Portuguese semsar, named Abdrahman-ben-Yessif, who is suspected by the whole town to be at the bottom of this crime.

I have been informed privately by the Chief Administrator that soldiers have orders to arrest the said Ben-Yessif as soon as they have an opportunity of doing so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. G. SPINNEY.

No. 293.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 99. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Rome, June 10, 1905.

YESTERDAY I saw M. Tittoni, and he spoke to me on the subject of M. Delcassé's resignation and Morocco.

I told him of the instructions to Mr. Lowther, and that the German Circular advocating a Conference had been received by your Lordship, who was of opinion that it was desirable to await information from Paris before considering the matter further.

His Excellency said he had likewise received the German Circular which he had not yet answered.

He proposed to take the same line as Austria, which, I understand (but not from his Excellency) to mean acceptance, subject to the general assent of other Powers.

On my saying that Italy was not exactly in the same position as Austria, having come to a special agreement with France respecting Morocco, M. Tittoni answered "Yes, and it was on account of that understanding with France that he had telegraphed to Paris to urge the Government of the Republic to do all that is possible to conciliate the Emperor." His Excellency is convinced that it is not Prince Bülow, but the Emperor, who, for some reason which he ignores, has started this question.

His Excellency seriously deplores the loss of M. Delcassé and the menacing tone adopted by the German Ambassadors here and elsewhere, repeating that hewould not answer the Circular until he was in possession of more information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

No. 294.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 102.)
My Lord,

Rome, June 13, 1905.

I ASKED M. Tittoni to-day whether he was about to send an answer to the German Circular advocating the Moorish proposal for a Conference.

He said he was on the point of doing so, consenting to join the Conference if all the Powers, including those interested, decided to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

No. 295.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 103. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Rome, June 13, 1905.

IN continuation of my preceding despatch respecting a Conference on the affairs of Morocco, I should add that M. Tittoni told me that Count Tornielli telegraphed from Paris that M. Rouvier is much discouraged at the reserve of the German Government, for he has not been able to have any exchange of views with them.

The Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs assures me that he is beginning to think that the Morocco question is not what mostly occupies the German Emperor, and that he must have some other design.

His Excellency suggested that your Lordship might do well to sound the ground at Berlin, and make inquiries there.

I ventured to say I thought it would be a mistake to change a correct attitude. The question before us was the proposal of the Sultan of Morocco for a Conference, which, up to the present, we saw no reason to approve of, and, I understand, the American and other Governments shared our views.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

No. 296.

Sir E. Egerton to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 105. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Rome, June 13, 1905.*

IT was the French Ambassador who came to inform me on the 6th instant, when I was laid up in bed from a feverish attack, that the German Ambassador, Count Monts, had said to M. Tittoni that if the French Minister maintained his threat of military measures against the Sultan of Morocco, a German army would cross the French frontier.

M. Tittoni, in surprise, seems to have said, "In that case France would probably not be alone."

Upon this Count Monts answered, "If England joined, the matter would be inconvenient, as it would affect the commerce of Germany, but that on land England could do nothing."

(I should add that later, and to another person, the Count spoke more seriously of England's power.)

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, incredulous, telegraphed to Berlin, and was informed that there was no ground beyond a newspaper paragraph for the statement that a French ultimatum had been sent.

M. Barrère assured me that M. Tittoni appeared not to have been as much disturbed as he would have expected by this bluster of the German Ambassador, and certainly to have had no sympathy with it.

M. Barrère attributes to Count Holstein an evil influence over the Emperor, and does not, apparently, think Count Bülow initiated the present move about Morocco.

A few days later, after the retirement of M. Delcassé, which he attributes mainly to the jealousy of other politicians of the Chamber, M. Barrère assured me that the leaders of French diplomacy, the two Cambons, Jusserand, and himself were firmly united in sympathy for the policy of their late Chief, and considered that there was no call for alarm; the French position was a sound one, in harmony with England and others. It was absurd to accuse Delcassé of attempting to isolate Germany; he had simply made the relations of France with all foreign nations better.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

No. 297.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(Separate.)

My Lord, *Tangier, June 11, 1905.*

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that I received news this morning from Mr. Consul Maclean at Dar-al-Baida of the murder at Mazagan, by four natives, of Mr. Daniel Madden, a British subject, on the morning of the 6th instant. I beg to inclose herewith two despatches addressed to your Lordship by Mr. Maclean, reporting the affair and the action he has taken in connection therewith.*

On receipt of this news, and at my request, Mr. Vice-Consul Michell visited the Sultan's Acting Deputy here, and informed him of the occurrence, pointing out to him the gravity of the affair and laying stress on the absolute necessity for taking prompt and energetic measures to obtain the discovery and arrest of the murderers.

His Excellency seemed to realize the serious nature of the crime, and, at my request, furnished me with a letter to the Governor of Mazagan, instructing that official to exert himself to the utmost to endeavour to bring the guilty persons to justice.

This letter I have forwarded to Mr. Maclean at Mazagan, whither he informs me he is proceeding, for delivery to the Governor.

The murdered man was Vice-Consul at Mazagan for Austria-Hungary and for Denmark.

At the request of the Austrian Minister here, and pending instructions from His Majesty's Minister at Fez, I have requested Mr. Maclean to instruct Mr. Spinney,

* Nos. 291 and 292.

British Vice-Consul at Mazagan, to take charge provisionally of the Austrian Vice-Consulate at that place. I have also asked Mr. Maclean to instruct Mr. Spinney to take the same provisional steps in respect to the Danish Vice-Consulate and archives at Mazagan.

Mr. Maclean, in his despatch to me, mentions that he expects to meet with difficulty in discovering the criminals, and affirms that his hands would be strengthened if he received the assistance of the Captain of a war-ship; he also states that he considers that the presence of a war-ship for a few days at Mazagan would have the effect of reassuring the British and European residents, who are greatly alarmed.

I informed M. de Chérisey of this when I visited him to-day to acquaint him of the affair, and he seemed to be of opinion that so long as the Moorish officials showed vigour and keenness towards the prompt discovery and arrest of the guilty such a step would be unnecessary, but that should they exhibit a lack of interest, and should Mr. Lowther deem it advisable, he thought there would be no difficulty is dispatching one of the two French cruisers stationed here to Mazagan, to induce more energetic steps being taken and to allay the fears of the European population resident there.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND WYLDBORE SMITH.

No. 298.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 66.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June 14, 1905.*

I AM sending an account by the bag of a private interview granted me to-day by His Shereefian Majesty, who reiterated that M. Saint-René Taillandier had on various occasions hinted that, if the measures of reform were not quietly acquiesced in, coercive action would be possibly adopted.

I am unable to feel certain that this was not imagination on the part of the Sultan, since it was directly the contrary of what I was told by M. Saint-René Taillandier.

No. 299.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 17.)

(No. 40.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, June 17, 1905.*

WHILE speaking to me respecting the Morocco question this morning, the German Ambassador told me that he had reason to hope that the difficulty with France would be solved without recourse being had to a Conference, Great Britain being opposed to its convocation he understood.

I told him it would be welcome news that a direct solution between France and Germany should be found, as, to my mind, a Conference would only confuse and complicate matters, and I was glad that there was a possibility of the idea being abandoned.

The French Ambassador having just returned from Paris, I informed him of the above, and as he agrees with me that the German Ambassador did not merely express his personal views, he said he would telegraph it to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 300.

Mr. Johnstone to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 123. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, June 10, 1905.*

AFTER communicating to me the practically certain adhesion by Austria-Hungary to the proposed Conference on the affairs of Morocco, provided the other Powers interested concurred (see my telegram No. 26 of yesterday), M. de Mérey went on to say he gathered from Count Mensdorff that His Majesty's Government were opposed to

a Conference, and that public opinion in England seemed generally against it. Speaking quite academically, he did not understand why His Majesty's Government were opposed to the idea of a Conference. We had nothing to lose by it, and we had effected the main object of our Agreement with France, *i.e.*, the acknowledgment of our preponderance in Egypt. I replied that naturally His Majesty's Government were most desirous of loyally carrying out their share of the Agreement with France, but that apparently nothing could be settled pending the decision of the French Government as to a Conference, and that if they agreed to it I supposed, though I did not know, that His Majesty's Government would also give their consent.

M. de Mérey went on to say that Austria had more commercial interests in Morocco than was generally believed. It appeared from a report furnished by their Representative at Tangier that, according to the latest statistics procurable, Austria held the third place on the list of countries importing goods into Morocco generally, and fourth place as regards goods imported at Tangier, and these statistics did not mention the numerous Austrian goods sent viâ Hamburg.

I said I was pleased to hear of the flourishing state of the Austrian trade with Morocco, but would their commercial interests there have been affected by the Anglo-French Agreement, and would the idea have ever entered their heads of proposing a Conference? M. de Mérey said they certainly would not have proposed a Conference, but he thought the fate of Tunis was an example to the Powers of where "la pénétration pacifique" would eventually end.

The French Chargé d'Affaires tells me that in April last M. de Mérey stated to him that he did not see why a Conference about Morocco was required, and that Austro-Hungarian interests there were inconsiderable. The statistics about Austro-Hungarian trade with Morocco, as quoted by M. de Mérey, have just been published in the newspapers here, and the change in the attitude of this Government is somewhat significant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALAN JOHNSTONE.

No. 301.

Mr. Whitehead to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 19.)

(No. 165.)
My Lord, *Berlin, June* 15, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith translation of a paragraph, which appeared in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" on the 13th instant, on the state of disorder prevailing in Morocco. The murder of Vice-Consul Madden, in the opinion of this widely-read paper, should serve as a warning to the Powers not to forget, in struggling for their own individual interests, that the most important object should be the re-establishment of order in the Sultan's dominions. That Egypt should be quoted as a model, and that the suggestion should be made that France should be intrusted with the work of pacification, will cause some surprise among the readers who have followed the line of policy in Moorish matters hitherto commended by the German press.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. B. WHITEHEAD.

Inclosure in No. 301.

Extract from the "Frankfurter Zeitung," June 13, 1905.

THE murder of Vice-Consul Madden in Morocco is a timely warning to the Powers not to forget, whilst fighting over their own individual interests, that the establishment of peace and good order in Morocco is of primary importance. This is really the first and most special interest of every Power, for as long as anarchy reigns in Morocco this naturally rich country can neither be opened up economically nor be penetrated by civilizing influences. No one can therefore complain, as we have repeatedly pointed out, if the French propose to introduce peace and order into Morocco, and to carry out a work similar to that performed by England in Egypt. Of course they must give proofs that their sole aim is pacific penetration, and not a more or less covert conquest for merely French ends. They would have, however, a claim to some

special advantages for exceptional efforts which they would have to make: *e.g.*, they might be allowed a rectification of their frontier to the east of Morocco, where the Sultan's authority is weakest, and the lawlessness is most unrestrained, for the extension and protection of their civilizing mission in Algeria; but there is a great difference between this and a protectorate over the whole of Morocco, to which we cannot take the assent of all the other Powers for granted. We hear from Paris that the opposition to a Conference is dying out; but, on the other hand, the "Petite République" announces, from an informant in touch with Prince Bülow, that it is known in Berlin that Rouvier prefers to deal direct with Germany, and to make concessions to her than to call a Conference. If these concessions are real and sufficient German diplomacy will not insist on a Conference. We trust that an agreement will soon be reached as to the nature of the proceedings, and that some practical decision will be come to. The number of murders that have been committed in Morocco is already large enough.

No. 302.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 19.)

(No. 213.) *Paris, June* 17, 1905.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to call your Lordship's attention to a letter published in "Le Gaulois" of to-day, and signed "Un Renseigné," of which I inclose a copy.* It is headed, "La Solution est à Londres," and it reproduces statements with regard to the question of Morocco, and the relations of France, Germany, and England, attributed to Prince Henckel von Donnersmark.

The views so expressed are those which persons acting in German interests have for some time past persistently endeavoured to impress on the French public, with some effect as regards certain sections of Monarchical society, but not, so far as I can judge, with much success amongst Government circles, or their adherents in Parliament.

I had an interview this morning with the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject of Crete, and as he inquired whether I had anything to say to him about Morocco, I asked whether he ever read the "Gaulois," and, if so, whether he had seen in to-day's issue the letter signed "Un Renseigné."

His Excellency said that he had seen the letter, and the views therein set forth were those that had been constantly dinned into his ears by people not favourable to the "entente" with England.

As to the discussions which M. Rouvier had had with the German Ambassador, his Excellency told me that he had not made much progress. Prince Radolin wished the French Government to accept a Conference in principle, but M. Rouvier desired first of all to know what Germany wanted before he decided whether the French Government could accept the proposal.

M. Rouvier went on to say that he could not believe that Germany intended to make war on the question of Morocco. Certainly France did not desire war, and it was deplorable to think that the two countries should be brought into the present state of tension by the disposition of one man. It could not be only Morocco which led the Emperor to adopt the course which he had followed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 303.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 19.)

(No. 41.) *Madrid, June* 19, 1905.
(Telegraphic.) P.

I WAS told this afternoon by Minister for Foreign Affairs that he had had a telegram from the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, in which he stated that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs had informed him that it had been intimated by Germany that all opposition on her part to French policy in Morocco and elsewhere would cease if France engaged to remain neutral in any future complications which Germany might be involved in.

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* Not printed.

No. 304.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 19.)

(No. 43.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, June* 19, 1905.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 41 of to-day.

I have been subsequently told by Minister for Foreign Affairs that the intimation reported in my telegram had not actually been made by Germany. If France gave the engagement respecting neutrality, it was, however, the opinion of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs that she would be satisfied.

No. 305.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 20.)

(No. 135.)
My Lord, *Fez, June* 11, 1905.

IT may not be without interest to record that, when the Moorish Government decided to issue invitations for a Conference at Tangier, their first intention was to omit sending an invitation to the Russian Government, on the grounds that Russia was not actually a signatory of the Convention, though she adhered to it later on.

This presumably was suggested to the Makhzen by the German Minister, but wiser counsels prevailed, and an invitation in the same form as the others was eventually sent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 306.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 20.)

(No. 114.)
My Lord, *Madrid, June* 17, 1905.

I CALLED yesterday at the Foreign Office, and as M. de Villa Urrutia was engaged, I paid a visit to M. de Ojeda, the Under-Secretary of State, and inquired of him whether any incidents had occurred during my absence. M. de Ojeda told me that he had received almost daily visits from the German Ambassador, who had stated that his Government were dissatisfied with the attitude of M. de Villa Urrutia, who had identified himself with M. Delcassé, and that they had "preuves à la main" that a complete understanding existed between the two statesmen. M. de Radowitz had added that unless M. de Villa Urrutia changed his line, Germany would have to alter her attitude towards Spain.

M. de Ojeda said that he had told M. de Radowitz that he, as Under-Secretary, was unable to reply to these admonitions, and requested his Excellency either to put them down in writing so that they might be submitted to the Prime Minister, or to communicate them personally to the latter gentleman.

M. de Radowitz chose the latter course, and M. de Ojeda said that though the substance of the communication which his Excellency made to the Prime Minister was substantially the same, the tone and language in which it was delivered were less minatory than had been employed towards him.

I subsequently saw M. de Villa Urrutia, who confirmed what M. de Ojeda had told me, and added that M. de Radowitz was evidently desirous that the Prime Minister should request his retirement, as he had complained of certain declarations which he was reported to have made in Paris, and had stated that they had caused great offence to the German Government. M. de Villa Urrutia was at a loss to understand to what declarations M. de Radowitz referred, as he had seen no newspaper reporters in Paris, and the short speeches which the King of Spain had made, and for which he took full responsibility, were perfectly innocuous, and could not offend the most tender susceptibilities.

The Prime Minister, however, had been much impressed by the language of M. de Radowitz, and had suggested that some apologies or explanations should be given.

I told M. de Villa Urrutia that it seemed to me probable that M. de Radowitz was

adorning and extending any instructions he might have received, as it was scarcely credible that his Government would suggest the retirement of Cabinet Ministers in a foreign country. It would be strange if Germany were to consider that she was at liberty to dictate to other Governments as to whom Cabinet portfolios should be intrusted. In regard to the threat of a change in the attitude of Germany towards Spain, I would suggest that no attention be paid to it. If the question were thought out, I think he would see that no unpleasant consequences could ensue. As to his furnishing explanations or apologies, it seemed to me that such overtures should not come from him, but it might be well to request M. de Radowitz to specify the "declaration" to which he took exception, and perhaps to solicit the production of the proofs to which he had referred. I did not understand the allusion to his being identified with M. Delcassé, and if it referred to his loyally observing the engagements the Spanish Government had made with that of France, he should regard it as a compliment. In any case, as Spain had a perfectly clear conscience in her dealings with other Powers, I earnestly trusted that he would show a firm front to these dictatorial admonitions from M. de Radowitz, as their repetition was becoming a little wearisome.

M. de Villa Urrutia said that he would see M. de Radowitz that afternoon, and hear what he had to say.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 307.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 20.)

(No. 115.) *Madrid, June* 17, 1905.
My Lord,

I SAW the German Ambassador this morning, and on my asking him whether any events of interest had occurred during my absence from Madrid, he remarked, with evident satisfaction, that M. Delcassé had been got rid of ("nous nous sommes débarrassés de M. Delcassé). I observed that the retirement of this statesman had been a great misfortune, as he was such a skilled and experienced Foreign Minister. M. de Radowitz said that his continuance in office constituted a real danger to the peace of Europe, as he had adopted a hostile policy towards Germany, and he could assure me that at one moment the situation was exceedingly strained and critical.

I told M. de Radowitz that I had seen this view adopted in some journals, and I could not understand on what grounds it was based. M. de Radowitz said that M. Delcassé had deliberately ignored Germany in several questions, and had shown a disposition to treat her as a negligiable quantity. He did not only refer to Morocco, but to other questions. This line of conduct could not be tolerated, and though the Emperor and the German people ardently desired to live in harmony with all, and especially with their neighbours, it was clear that this desire could not be realized so long as M. Delcassé remained in office. As regards Morocco, Germany had been treated in the most cavalier manner; but he was glad to see that a great "détente" had taken place, and he had every reason to hope that an amicable solution would be found, even without the convocation of a Conference, to which he understood my Government had objections.

I replied that if an understanding were arrived at between France and Germany in regard to Morocco it would be welcome news, and I was glad to hear from him that it was possible that the idea of a Conference would be abandoned, as, personally, I was sure that a Conference would only confuse and complicate matters. I was surprised to hear that he considered Germany had been treated cavalierly as to Morocco, as I understood Prince Radolin had been informed of the Agreement with France before it was signed, and the speech of Prince Bülow in the spring of last year showered blessings upon the understanding.

M. de Radowitz said that the speech of Prince Bülow had been delivered under the impression that France would make full and official communications in regard to the Agreement, and much had occurred since that speech had been made. I said it was of little advantage recurring to the past, but I thought when M. Delcassé had expressed his readiness to offer all explanations and to dissipate any misgivings his overtures had met with no response

I asked if he had seen M. de Villa Urrutia since his return. M. de Radowitz replied that he had seen him yesterday, and had been compelled to draw his attention

to certain statements he had made in Paris, in which he had said that the question of Morocco was a question of "honour" to the Government of Spain. This and other indiscreet utterances of the Foreign Minister had caused some irritation in Berlin. It was absurd, M. de Radowitz added, for the Spanish Foreign Minister to adopt so lofty a tone at this juncture in regard to so delicate a question as that of Morocco, and it would be wise for him to be more modest.

I pointed out to M. de Radowitz that M. de Villa Urrutia was evidently alluding to the engagements of Spain with France, and indirectly with Great Britain in regard to Morocco, and I quite understand that the maintenance of these engagements would be a point of "honour" with the Spanish Government. M. de Radowitz remarked that he certainly did not wish Spain to violate any engagements she had contracted; on the contrary, her strict observance of the undertakings she had already made would be reassuring should it ever be necessary for her to conclude engagements with his country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 308.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 20.)

(No. 67.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 16, 1905.

I AM informed that a note has been addressed by the French to the Moorish Government, prohibiting for the future the passage of arms and ammunition destined for the Shereefian army through Algerian territory.

The foregoing, which I have obtained from Moorish sources, will most likely result in the capitulation of Oujdah, and has occasioned the Shereefian Government considerable uneasiness.

No. 309.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 20.)

(No. 44.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Madrid, June* 20, 1905.

GERMANY and Spain.

The German Chancellor, who had received information on very high authority to the effect that France, in the event of hostilities, had been promised the assistance of a Spanish force of 300,000 men, instructed the German Ambassador here to inquire of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs if this was true.

The President of the Council has also been requested by M. de Radowitz to communicate officially to the press a denial that the feelings of the Spanish Government towards Germany had been other than friendly, together with the statement that whatever M. Delcassé's attitude may have been, M. de Villa Urrutia had identified himself in no way with any act which might be construed as unfriendly. It was the wish of his Government, the German Ambassador said, that a statement should be made publicly, in words similar to the above.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has been ignored by M. de Radowitz in this affair, by no means wishes to publish such a statement, especially as the matter has not been alluded to by the press. His view seems to be the right one, but the wishes of the German Ambassador will have, I understand, great influence with the President of the Council.

No. 310.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 400.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 21, 1905.

THE French Ambassador, who returned from Paris late last night, called upon me this morning, and brought with him a copy of the reply which the French Government has decided to return to the German proposal for a Conference as to the affairs of Morocco. A copy of this document is attached to this despatch. His Excellency told me that it would be handed to Prince Radolin to-day.

I learned from his Excellency that Prince Radolin had had no less than three interviews with M. Rouvier, and that the latter had on each occasion dwelt upon the inutility of a Conference. He had, however, been considerably perturbed by Prince Radolin's insistence. The German Representatives at Rome and Madrid had, moreover, been extremely violent in their language. His Excellency mentioned to me in confidence that the German Emperor had addressed a personal communication on the subject of the Conference to President Roosevelt, who had replied that the United States' Government had no special interests in Morocco, and that they would be guided by the decision of the Powers who possessed such interests, and notably by that of France.

I saw his Excellency again after the Cabinet which met this morning, and told him that I was authorized to inform Count Metternich that, the French Government having communicated to us the answer which they had given to the German Government, we learned therefrom that they did not desire at the outset of the discussion to exclude the idea of a Conference, but were of opinion that France and Germany should begin by a frank exchange of ideas as to the subjects which the German Government desired to refer to such a Conference; that the French Government were convinced that their intentions with regard to Morocco were completely misunderstood; that they had no designs upon the sovereignty of the Sultan or upon the rights of other Powers; and that they believed that there was, in fact, no fundamental difference between the views of the two Governments, that a direct agreement was the best and promptest mode of arriving at a satisfactory result, and that the discussion which M. Rouvier invited might show that there was no occasion for holding a Conference. I should tell Count Metternich that in these circumstances His Majesty's Government would have to withhold their reply to his communication until they knew the result of the communications now passing between the French and German Governments.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

Inclosure in No. 310.

Memorandum communicated by M. Cambon, June 21, 1905.

PAR deux communications adressées l'une à Fez, au Ministre, l'autre à Tanger, au Chargé d'Affaires de France, le Gouvernement de la République a été saisi d'une proposition du Gouvernement Marocain tendant à la réunion à Tanger d'une Conférence composée des Ministres des Puissances Signataires de la Convention de Madrid et des Délégués du Makhzen en vue de s'entretenir: (1) du mode de réformes que Sa Majesté Chérifienne se propose d'introduire dans son Empire et qui seraient appropriées à sa situation présente; (2) de la manière de pourvoir aux frais de ces réformes.

Le Gouvernement Impérial, saisi de la même proposition, a fait connaître au Gouvernement de la République, par une note remise le 6 Juin, 1905, que la Conférence lui paraissait être le meilleur moyen de préparer ces réformes qui ne pouvaient s'effectuer qu'avec le consentement de toutes les Puissances Signataires de la Convention de Madrid. Le Gouvernement Impérial estime que la mise en pratique de ces réformes est subordonnée au respect des Articles de la dite Convention, et notamment de l'Article XVII, qui, d'après lui, accorderait à chacun des Signataires le traitement le plus favorable et interdirait conséquemment l'attribution de tout privilège à l'un quelconque d'entre eux. Cette communication a été complétée par des observations verbales, sur lesquelles nous aurons à revenir.

Après nous avoir fait connaître ses vues, le Gouvernement Impérial sollicite les nôtres dans le même sens et nous demande de nous rendre à la Conférence. Cette démarche nous inspire les observations suivantes:—

Les termes de l'adhésion donnée par le Gouvernement Impérial à la proposition Marocaine en modifient le caractère d'une manière assez sensible. Le Gouvernement Chérifien se borne à demander aux Puissances un conseil relatif à l'exercice de ses droits souverains. Aux yeux du Gouvernement Impérial, la Conférence n'a pas seulement pour objet de préparer des réformes, mais encore de garantir aux Puissances les droits qu'elles tiennent de la Convention de 1880. Cette différence entre les propositions du Gouvernement Chérifien et les vues du Gouvernement Impérial a amené le Gouvernement de la République à se demander, en ce qui concerne les réformes, si le meilleur moyen de les réaliser était de les soumettre à une Conférence où l'unanimité des Puissances représentées serait nécessaire à la validité d'une décision quelconque, alors que certaines d'entre elles ont au Maroc des intérêts extrêmement

faibles ; et d'autre part, si l'on ne porterait pas atteinte aux droits souverains du Sultan par les conditions restrictives qu'on mettrait à leur exercice. Ces considérations n'ayant pas pu échapper au Gouvernement Impérial, son adhésion à la Conférence semble bien avoir eu pour principal objet la sauvegarde des droits et des intérêts des Puissances, menacés, selon lui, par la situation exclusive ou privilégiée que la France aurait cherché à obtenir au Maroc.

La note remise le 6 Juin, et surtout les observations qui l'ont appuyée, confirment cette impression, mais elle semble reposer sur un malentendu.

Ce malentendu s'explique par le fait d'ailleurs non contesté que nos propositions au Makhzen sont encore inconnues du Gouvernement Impérial. Quant à nos intentions dont nous sommes très sûrs, il n'en est pas de même, et nous les avons mises plusieurs fois déjà en pleine lumière ; nous sommes prêts néanmoins à les exposer à nouveau dans les termes les plus explicites.

Nos propositions au Gouvernement Chérifien n'ont ni la portée, ni le caractère qui leur a été assigné. Nous n'avons pas tenté d'obtenir du Sultan la direction des affaires intérieures et extérieures de son Empire, ni une main mise sur son système militaire.

Nous n'avons nullement cherché à introduire au Maroc un régime analogue à celui qui n'a été d'ailleurs appliqué dans la régence de Tunis qu'avec le consentement de l'Allemagne. L'assimilation faite entre les deux situations n'est pas exacte ; mais, à supposer qu'elle le fût, à supposer même que, contrairement à notre sentiment, la Convention de 1880 visât d'autres points que l'exercice du droit de protection, on ne pourrait pas en tirer la conséquence que les intérêts économiques des Puissances seraient appelés à en souffrir.

En effet, les modifications apportées à certaines parties du statut Tunisien ont laissé intacts les Traités antérieurement signés par le Gouvernement Beylical. Au Maroc le Gouvernement Chérifien a souscrit en 1890 des engagements envers l'Allemagne qui donnent au commerce Allemand les garanties les plus complètes ; il n'est jamais venu à notre pensée que ces engagements puissent n'être pas respectés.

Nos propositions au Gouvernement Chérifien respectent donc les principes et sauvegardent les intérêts qui ont éveillé les préoccupations du Gouvernement Impérial. Ni la souveraineté du Sultan, ni l'intégrité de son territoire, ni la situation des Puissances telle qu'elle résulte des Traités, ne peuvent être altérées.

La France s'est bornée à demander qu'on voulût bien reconnaître que sa situation de pays limitrophe du Maroc, ayant avec lui une grande étendue de frontières communes, rend légitime le souci particulier qu'elle prend du maintien de l'ordre dans l'Empire, de la bonne administration du pays et de sa prospérité. Les propositions qu'elle a faites n'ont pas d'autre but, et si ce but est atteint, toutes les Puissances sont appelées à en tirer avantage ; la civilisation générale en profitera. En prenant en main cette cause, la France s'est inspirée des intérêts qu'elle regarde comme solidaires de toutes les Puissances civilisées. Les Accords qu'elle a déjà conclus avec certaines d'entre elles sont venus de là.

L'un, daté du 8 Avril, 1904, a été signé avec l'Angleterre ; il porte expressément que le Gouvernement de la République n'a pas l'intention de changer l'état politique du Maroc : le Gouvernement Impérial en trouvera ci-joint le texte. Un autre est daté du 6 Octobre dernier ; il a été signé avec l'Espagne, et a été notifié aussitôt au Gouvernement Impérial par l'Ambassadeur de la République à Berlin. Il vise pour les confirmer formellement les déclarations contenues dans le premier.

S'il n'y a pas eu jusqu'ici une entente semblable avec le Gouvernement Allemand il résulte des déclarations mêmes de ce dernier que ses principes, loin d'être en opposition avec ceux du Gouvernement de la République, sont avec eux en parfaite harmonie. Les deux Gouvernements ne peuvent différer que sur la meilleure manière d'en assurer l'application. Le Gouvernement Impérial croit la trouver dans la Conférence ; un Accord direct serait à nos yeux un procédé plus simple et destiné à aboutir à un résultat plus prompt et plus sûr. Le Gouvernement Impérial ne saurait méconnaître les inconvénients qu'il y aurait pour lui comme pour nous à se rendre à une Conférence sans Accord préalable—Accord qui ne saurait porter atteinte à ceux qui ont été conclus antérieurement, et qui, eux-mêmes, n'en ont porté aucun aux intérêts auxquels le Gouvernement Impérial donne sa sollicitude.

Dans l'état actuel des choses, une réponse définitive à la question qui nous a été posée serait encore de notre part insuffisamment éclairée. Le Gouvernement de la République est vivement frappé de cette double considération : que la Conférence pourrait être dangereuse si elle n'est pas précédée d'une entente, et inutile si elle la suit. Mais il ne l'écarte pas de parti pris. Quelles que soient ses préférences, il tient compte, dans un haut intérêt de conciliation, de celles qui lui ont été exprimées. Il

désire seulement savoir quels sont dans la pensée du Gouvernement Impérial les points précis qui seraient traités à la Conférence et les solutions qu'il proposerait d'y apporter. Si la Conférence doit avoir lieu cet échange de vues serait évidemment le plus sûr moyen d'assurer le succès de sa tâche et de lui permettre d'y travailler en sécurité. Ce serait aussi le plus propre à seconder efficacement les efforts sincères des deux Cabinets, et à amener l'entente que le Gouvernement de la République juge désirable au même degré que le Gouvernement Impérial.

No. 311.

*The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir E. Goschen.**

(No. 60.)

Foreign Office, June 21, 1905.

Sir,

THE Austro-Hungarian Ambassador asked me to-day whether His Majesty's Government had arrived at any decision as to the action which they would take in reference to the proposal of the German Government that an International Conference should be assembled for the purpose of dealing with the situation which has arisen in Morocco.

I told his Excellency that we had reason to know that communications were still passing between the French and German Governments upon this subject ; that the French Government were of opinion that the first step to be taken was a frank exchange of ideas between the two Governments as to the subjects which it was desired to refer to such a Conference ; that they disclaimed any design upon the sovereignty of the Sultan or upon the rights of other Powers ; that they were convinced that their intentions with regard to Morocco were completely misunderstood ; and that there was, in fact, no fundamental difference between the views of the two Governments, that a direct Agreement appeared to them the best and promptest mode of arriving at a satisfactory result, and that the discussion which M. Rouvier invited might show that there was no occasion for holding a Conference at all. In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government considered that they could not with advantage express any opinion as to the propriety of a Conference, and they must therefore withhold their reply to the proposal of the German Government until they learnt the result of the discussion now proceeding between the French and German Governments.

I am, &c.

(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 312.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 26.)

(No. 131.)

Fez, June 9, 1905.

My Lord,

AS there has been some talk of the possible conclusion of a loan by financiers other than French to the Sultan, I asked the representative of the French bondholders to be good enough to furnish me with a copy of the Article upon which they relied to prevent such a contingency.

Herewith I have the honour to inclose a copy of the Article in question.

As I have not the archives of His Majesty's Legation here, I am unable to compare it with the information which we have obtained previously on the subject ; but as the matter is one which presents some interest at this moment, I take the liberty of transmitting this text.

The Article is so precisely drawn up that it would appear to exclude all possibility of the conclusion by the Sultan of a *bonâ fide* loan without previous intimation to the French Syndicate, who advanced the loan of 1904.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

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* Also to Sir E. Egerton (No. 100), Sir C. Hardinge (No. 190), and Sir A Nicolson (No. 72), *mutatis mutandis*.

Inclosure in No. 312.

Extract from Loan Contract of 1904.

ARTICLE 33. Si le Gouvernement Impérial du Maroc désire contracter un emprunt, ou acheter ou vendre des titres, il en fera part aux Banques contractantes, ainsi qu'à d'autres et à conditions et prix égaux, la préférence sera accordée aux Banques contractantes.

De même, s'il désire frapper des monnaies à l'étranger, en dehors de son Empire, il en fera aussi part aux Banques contractantes comme d'autres, et à conditions et prix égaux, la préférence sera accordée aux Banques contractantes. Cependant, les contrats conclus pour la frappe de monnaies et actuellement en cours continueront leur effet jusqu'à leur expiration.

De même, si le Gouvernement désirait faire des achats ou des ventes d'or et d'argent, il en fera aussi part aux Banques contractantes et à d'autres pour connaître leurs prix et conditions, et le Gouvernement Impérial du Maroc décidera comme il lui conviendra.

No. 313.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 21.)

(No. 132.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 9, 1905.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's instructions contained in your telegram of the 5th instant, I conveyed to Ben Sliman, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, verbally the decision of His Majesty's Government not to be present at the proposed Conference of the foreign Ministers resident at Tangier, explaining to his Excellency that such a Conference would entail the discussion of Moorish affairs by many Powers, some of whom had but trifling interests in the country; and I added that His Majesty's Government would desire to try and persuade the Sultan not to urge the decision on the Powers, as it appeared to His Majesty's Government not to have been suggested under good advice and to be quite contrary to the true interests of Morocco.

Ben Sliman seemed somewhat prepared for the reply, and asked whether, in the event of some Powers declining to take part in the Conference, it would be possible for those which entertained the idea favourably to meet.

To this I observed that my personal view was that this must depend upon which Powers declined to attend. If, for instance, Great Britain, France, and Spain, the Powers directly interested from their geographical position and commercial interests, were absent, the Conference could hardly take place as the other Powers would obviously see that it would be abortive, and would not be likely to take part in a Conference which lacked seriousness.

His Excellency, I think, evidently had no idea as to what steps the Moorish Government contemplated taking in the event of the Conference not taking place, and probably in any case his Excellency would not, under present circumstances, commit himself to an opinion without the advice of the German Minister being previously obtained.

I propose addressing a written reply to Cid Mohammed Torres, the Moorish Commissioner, in the sense of your Lordship's instructions, as the note of invitation was signed by him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 314.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 21.)

(No. 133. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 10, 1905.

IN speaking to M. Saint-René Taillandier this morning as to which Powers were likely to accept the invitation of the Moorish Government to be present at the proposed Conference at Tangier, I asked his Excellency what reply he anticipated would be given by Belgium.

To this his Excellency replied that this had been a matter of some concern in Paris, and that even now he did not know what the answer of Belgium would be.

He could tell me in confidence that the Belgians had in hand a scheme which they desired to press upon the Moorish Government for the catching and drying of fish at several places on the coast, and that the Belgian Government had invited the French Government, when the French Mission came to Fez, to give them their support in urging upon the Sultan the granting of this concession.

M. Saint-René Taillandier had, however, declined to do anything in the matter, as he was of opinion that all demands for concessions should for the moment be discouraged, as being entirely in opposition to the programme for reforms proposed by his Government. Latterly the French Government had again asked him whether it could not be taken up, but M. Saint-René Taillandier had adhered to his previous view, and he feared that this might have an unfavourable effect in the decision of the Belgian Government regarding the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 315.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 26.)

(No. 134. Secret.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 10, 1905.

ON arriving here I asked the French Minister whether it would be possible for him to communicate to me in a general manner the proposals for reform which he had laid before the Moorish Government.

His Excellency replied that he would willingly do so, and promised to send M. Regnault, the Representative of the French bondholders and the Financial Adviser to the Mission, to explain these reforms to me.

M. Regnault was good enough to draw up the inclosed short Memorandum of the reforms which had been submitted, merely requesting that it should not be made public, which request I venture to convey to your Lordship.

I am, of course, not in a position to judge whether anything of importance has been kept back in the *exposé*, but I have every reason to believe that it is a brief account of the reforms actually proposed.

So far as I am able to judge, there does not appear to be anything of an arduous nature to the Moorish Government in these proposals or anything contrary to the interests of Great Britain or any other country, and as it is pointed out in the Memorandum, no monopolies are asked for except in the matter of the State Bank, where they are considered necessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

Inclosure in No. 315.

Memorandum respecting French Financial Proposals.

I.

(Secret.)

LE programme économique et financier soumis aux Plénipotentiaires Marocains répond aux idées générales suivantes et peut être divisé en trois catégories :—

(A.)—*Réformes dans l'Intérêt plus particulier du Commerce.*

Il s'agit de donner au commerce international les satisfactions qu'il réclame, au moyen de certaines réformes et de certaines entreprises qui profiteront en même temps à la prospérité générale du pays.

Nous rangerons sous cette rubrique les projets ci-après :—

(*a.*) Organisation du service d'embarquement et de débarquement.
(*b.*) Amélioration des ports.
(*c.*) Création de magasins généraux et du système des " warrants."
(*d.*) Câble télégraphique sous-marin et éclairage de la côte.

(B.)—*Réformes douanières.*

Il y a lieu de rechercher les moyens d'augmenter les ressources du Trésor Chérifien afin de le mettre en mesure d'élargir par la suite son programme de réformes et d'accomplir de nouvelles entreprises.

Dans cette catégorie se place—

(*a.*) Le contrôle des douanes Marocaines.
(*b.*) La répression de la fraude et de la contrebande.

(C.)—*Réformes financières.*

La suppression de l'agio sur les monnaies, qui est la plaie du commerce, exige l'assainissement de la circulation monétaire.

D'autre part, pour solder les dépenses nécessitées par les réformes inscrites dans la première catégorie, il est indispensable de fournir des fonds à titre d'avances au Gouvernement Chérifien : de là le projet de la Banque d'État du Maroc.

II.

Avant d'exposer nos projets, il y a lieu de noter quelques observations de principe.

(*a.*) Aucun des projets ne comporte, sauf celui relatif à la Banque d'État, l'établissement d'un monopole nouveau, la concession d'avantages exclusifs.

En matière de travaux publics et de fournitures, nous sommes disposés à admettre le système des adjudications publiques, sans distinction de nationalité, dans tous les cas où la nature des travaux ou des commandes permettra d'y recourir.

(*b.*) Nous entendons réserver au Gouvernement Marocain, et ne pas concéder à des Sociétés particulières, l'administration et les bénéfices des entreprises d'intérêt public qui sont dans tous les pays exploitées par l'État.

(*c.*) Nous maintenons très fermement les déclarations insérées à l'Article IV du Traité Franco-Anglais en ce qui touche l'égalité commerciale. Nos projets tendent à développer le commerce international sans aucun faveur spéciale accordée à telle ou telle nationalité. Mais toute stipulation ayant trait à l'égalité économique, c'est-à-dire au droit qui serait attribué à chaque Puissance d'obtenir des avantages identiques en matière de concessions ou d'entreprises, serait, suivant nous, attentatoire à la souveraineté du Maroc. Elle la limiterait de la façon la plus abusive, au point d'empêcher toute réforme, toute administration régulière. Elle consacrerait la légitimité de tous les appétits en matière de concessions. Le Gouvernement Chérifien ne peut abandonner ses droits régaliens; il doit rester libre, même en matière économique, de prendre les mesures que lui dicteront les intérêts exclusifs de son pays.

La clause de la nation la plus favorisée n'a jamais été appliquée aux entreprises et aux commandes; elle reste limitée, suivant tous les précédents internationaux, aux matières qui font l'objet des Traités passés entre les diverses nations, notamment aux droits de douane, aux tarifs de transport, aux clauses relatives à la navigation, à l'établissement des nationaux, à leur faculté de commercer, aux impôts qui les frappent. . . . . Un État doit conserver son entière liberté d'action en dehors des Traités qu'il a souscrits.

III.

Examinons maintenant très sommairement le programme de réformes.

(A.)—*Réformes commerciales.*

Les réformes ayant pour objet de faciliter plus particulièrement le commerce sont les plus importantes.

(*a.*) *Le Service de Débarquement et d'Embarquement.*—Ce service, qui constitue au Maroc un monopole reconnu par les Traités (Articles XI et XII du Traité Anglais de 1856, Articles LIV et LV du Traité Espagnol du 20 Novembre, 1861), a donné lieu aux réclamations les plus justifiées de la part des négociants Européens de toute nationalité. Il fonctionne mal, avec un matériel insuffisant, un personnel négligent, laissé sans surveillance. Aucune responsabilité n'est engagée en cas de perte ou d'avarie des colis remis aux barcasses.

Ce service a fait l'objet d'une demande de la part d'une Compagnie Allemande et, tout récemment, les Allemands ont obtenu en grand mystère la commande d'un matériel de remorqueur et de barcasses destiné au port de Tanger.

De son côté, une Société Française a offert de se charger du service dans tous les ports avec une participation accordée à l'État Marocain d'un quart des bénéfices réalisés.

Nous concluons à ce que ces diverses demandes soient rejetées. Il y aurait avantage, si les ressources de l'État Marocain le permettaient, à supprimer ce monopole très lourd pour le commerce; il ne peut être question de le rendre encore plus pesant par la concession qui en serait faite à une Société privée; celle-ci pourrait léser les intérêts du commerce maritime par des accords secrets ou des faveurs consenties à telle ou telle Compagnie, à tel ou tel chargeur de la place. Nous demandons que le service soit administré par le Gouvernement Marocain et à son profit exclusif, sous le contrôle de la Dette Publique, qui a déjà le contrôle de la douane, les deux matières étant connexes. Il est entendu que la Dette n'augmentera pas son personnel Européen dans les ports.

Dans cette affaire, il y a lieu de noter que nous défendons le principe de l'égalité entre les nations contre des intérêts particuliers, fussent-ils ceux de nationaux. L'Allemagne fait le contraire.

(*b.*) *Amélioration des Ports.*—Ici encore nous sommes inspirés par l'intérêt général. Nous demandons à ce qu'une étude générale du littoral soit entreprise sans retard par un ingénieur compétent qui établira les projets de travaux et les devis. Afin de donner un caractère pratique à la question, nous proposons de faire ouvrir dès maintenant un crédit de 5,000,000 de pesetas Hassani (environ 3,000,000 fr.), sur lequel seront imputés les travaux les plus urgents. Le principe de l'adjudication publique sera appliqué sauf pour les entreprises et fournitures que la nature spéciale devra faire réserver à des marchés de gré à gré.

(*c.*) *Magasins généraux.*—Le commerce ne dispose au Maroc ni de locaux dans les ports, ni de moyens de crédit. Cependant, certains négociants servent s'entendre avec les Oumana et obtiennent par faveur de laisser leurs marchandises dans les magasins de la douane pendant plusieurs mois, et cela sans payer de taxes régulières; les droits de magasinage ne sont en effet acquittés qu'à Tanger. Cette faveur, contraire à l'égalité commerciale, contribue à encombrer les locaux et entrave les opérations journalières de la Douane.

Les magasins généraux permettront aux négociants de trouver des locaux appropriés, de ne payer les droits de magasinage qu'à la sortie de la marchandise, de ne pas dédouaner de suite, mais seulement au fur et à mesure des ventes effectuées; enfin d'obtenir du crédit au moyen de " warrants " négociables.

Dans tous les pays Européens, ces entreprises sont laissées à des Sociétés privées.

Le consortium des banques Françaises qui ont souscrit l'emprunt demande cette concession dans les ports du Maroc; mais cette concession ne prendrait pas le caractère d'un monopole; le Makhzen restera libre d'accorder d'autres semblables, et quant au commerce, il aura la faculté de se servir ou non, à son gré, des magasins généraux. Le consortium offre à l'État Marocain, s'il veut lui faciliter l'occupation de terrains pour y établir ses magasins, une participation dans les bénéfices réalisés par l'entreprise.

(*d.*) *Télégraphe sous-marin et Phares.*—L'établissement du télégraphe est nécessaire au commerce en même temps qu'à la sécurité du pays; il serait accueilli avec faveur par l'opinion indigène dans les villes de la côte.

Le câble desservirait tous les ports créés ou à créer. Il serait administré par un

office Impérial des télégraphes Marocains. Si on établissait la télégraphie sans fil, on pourrait réaliser une économie de 60 pour cent. Un crédit sera prévu pour la création du réseau télégraphique et aussi pour l'installation de phares sur les points les plus dangereux de la côte. Les taxes télégraphiques et éventuellement les droits de phare seront perçus au profit exclusif du Trésor Chérifien.

(B.)—*Réformes douanières.*

Elles ont pour but d'amener plus de régularité dans les opérations de douane et d'augmenter, sous modification des tarifs actuels, les perceptions effectuées pour le compte du Trésor Marocain. C'est en créant des ressources au Gouvernement Chérifien qu'il sera possible d'entreprendre une seconde catégorie de travaux nécessaires à la mise en valeur du pays.

(*a.*) *Contrôle des Douanes.*—L'Administration des Oumana fonctionne actuellement sans aucune surveillance de la part du Gouvernement Marocain. A la demande même du Sultan, il a été stipulé dans le contrat d'emprunt que le droit de contrôle serait réservé à la délégation de la Dette Marocaine. Mais jusqu'à ce jour les efforts des Oumana, le défaut d'instructions précises du Makhzen, ont réussi à le rendre illusoire. Est-il nécessaire de dire que, d'après notre nouveau projet, le contrôle s'exercera sans distinction de nationalité? Les ordres donnés aux Agents de la Dette sont formels à ce sujet, et aucun acte de complaisance coupable pour tel ou tel négociant n'a été relevé depuis une année. Ils ont accompli leur devoir sans parti pris; c'est ainsi que, parmi les faits de fraude signalés par eux, plusieurs sont imputés à des Européens, parmi lesquels figurent des Français ou protégés Français. Il va sans dire qu'aucune suite sérieuse n'a été donnée à ces affaires.

En ce qui touche les formalités du contrôle, elles ont été aussi simplifiées que possible afin de n'apporter aucune entrave au commerce, mais, bien au contraire, de faciliter la rapidité et la régularité des opérations et d'éviter les abus de taxation. Ces formalités, qu'il serait inutile de décrire ici, ont reçu l'approbation du Ministre du Makhzen désigné pour procéder à une enquête sur l'administration des Oumana.

(*b.*) *Répression des Fraudes et de la Contrebande.*—La répression des fraudes et de la contrebande ne fait l'objet d'aucune disposition législative spéciale. Le plus souvent le coupable n'est ni poursuivi, ni puni. C'est encourager la fraude, puisque ceux qui l'exercent n'encourent d'autre risque que de payer les droits.

Cette faiblesse de l'Administration démoralise le commerce, favorise les négociants dénués de scrupules qui, ne payant que rarement les droits de douane dans leur intégralité, peuvent vendre à meilleur compte que leurs honnêtes concurrents.

Quant à la contrebande des armes et des munitions de guerre, elle est des plus fréquentes au Maroc. Le journal "El Africa Española" publie en dernière page le tarif des armes et munitions vendues en stock; la livraison est immédiate. Rien n'est plus facile, les côtes n'étant pas surveillées. D'ailleurs, grâce à certaines complicités, il n'est pas nécessaire de faire prendre d'autre chemin à la contrebande que celui suivi par les marchandises ordinaires.

Ajoutons que le projet relatif à la répression de la fraude ne contrevient pas aux dispositions des Traités passés avec les Puissances.

(C.)—*Réformes financières.*

Nous avons dit que la plaie du pays est l'agio sur les monnaies. La spéculation s'exerce dans les villes de la côte, et particulièrement à Tanger. La monnaie étant la base des échanges, le commerce est gravement troublé quand cette valeur est soumise à des fluctuations incessantes et arbitraires. La dépréciation de l'Hassani tend à s'accentuer. L'année dernière à cette époque le cours moyen était de 150 pour cent francs; il est aujourd'hui de 166. Pourtant, les variations de l'Hassani étant calculées sur la peseta Espagnole, et celle-ci ayant gagné huit points cette année sur le franc, le cours de l'Hassani aurait dû s'établir à 141 au lieu de 166.

La situation menace de devenir plus grave. Cette année les exportations de céréales seront très faibles par suite de la sécheresse. D'autre part, les achats de traites sur Paris et Londres effectués par la délégation de la Dette, suspendus depuis le 15 Mars, date à laquelle la deuxième semestrialité de l'intérêt de l'emprunt a été converte, vont reprendre au 1er Juillet prochain. A partir de cette date, les sommes

en Hassani, produites par le prélèvement des 60 pour cent des recettes douanières, seront converties chaque jour en francs au moyen d'achats de traites sur Paris. Les cours de l'Hassani seront lourdement impressionnés par ces faits.

L'intérêt du Gouvernement et celui du commerce sont étroitement liés dans cette question de la circulation monétaire. Pourtant, le Gouvernement semble prendre à tâche de déprécier encore l'Hassani par des frappes inconsidérées. Il croit avoir trouvé, grâce à cette pratique, les moyens de parer aux difficultés de l'heure présente; en fait il n'a réussi qu'à empirer la situation du pays. Bien loin de rendre le stock monétaire pléthorique, il faudrait le raréfier de façon à le ramener aux stricts besoins de la circulation. Il faudrait, en outre, par une politique monétaire suivie, stabiliser le cours de l'Hassani et rapprocher le plus possible sa valeur de celle de la peseta Espagnole.

Seule, une banque d'État, qui devra être un organe financier puissant, est en mesure d'exécuter cette politique au Maroc.

Son rôle à l'égard du Gouvernement Chérifien peut être défini ainsi qu'il suit:—

1. Empêcher de nouvelles frappes: Dans ce but le Gouvernement Marocain devra reconnaître à la banque le monopole des opérations monétaires, monopole qu'elle exercera sans bénéfice au profit exclusif du Makhzen. Déjà le contrat de l'Emprunt 1904 confère en cette matière un droit de préférence au consortium des banques. Il est nécessaire de renforcer ce droit et de le convertir en privilège.

2. Prendre à tâche d'assainir la circulation monétaire: La banque devra, au moyen d'achats opérés chaque jour pendant la période de baisse, mettre en réserve dans ses coffres des quantités de l'Hassani, de façon à en stabiliser les cours. Elle ne les rendra à la circulation que progressivement pendant la période de hausse.

Il est nécessaire que la banque puisse affecter à ces opérations des capitaux importants. Afin d'augmenter ses disponibilités, le privilège d'émettre des billets de banque jusqu'à concurrence du triple de son encaisse métallique lui sera octroyé. C'est la proportion usitée dans toutes les banques d'État de l'Europe.

Il va sans dire qu'en matière d'émission de papier-monnaie le monopole est de règle.

Toute concession concurrente amènerait un résultat contraire au but poursuivi.

3. Effectuer des avances au Gouvernement Marocain afin de lui permettre de réaliser dès à présent les réformes exposées sous la lettre (A) dans l'intérêt du commerce: Le montant de ces avances ainsi que l'intérêt et l'amortissement seraient déterminés après accord avec les Plénipotentiaires Marocains. Il ne s'agit que de convertir en privilège le droit de préférence déjà reconnu au consortium des banques par le Contrat de 1904 en matière d'opérations d'emprunt et de crédit.

C'est au moyen de cette clause qu'on évitera des gaspillages et des emprunts usuraires.

4. La banque prendrait en outre l'engagement d'effectuer le service de Trésorerie du Gouvernement Chérifien moyennant une commission qui ne dépasserait pas 2 pour cent. Le Trésor éviterait ainsi des transports de fonds, en même temps qu'il apporterait de la régularité dans ses paiements et ses perceptions.

5. Un Commissaire Impérial Marocain serait chargé de surveiller les opérations relatives à l'émission des billets, aux monnaies et aux emprunts, de façon à s'assurer que la banque remplit exactement ses engagements.

IV.

Telles sont les considérations qu'on peut exposer à l'appui de notre programme. Aucun des projets de réformes ne contient d'avantages exclusifs, sauf dans une seule matière, la Banque d'État, où le privilège d'émission et de règle et où les autres privilèges stipulés en faveur de cet établissement sont rendus nécessaires par la situation politique et financière du pays.

Les réformes soumises au Makhzen n'ont pas, quoiqu'on en ait dit, soulevé d'émotion dans la population indigène. On a reconnu qu'elles répondaient à l'intérêt général du commerce et qu'elles le favorisaient sans distinction de nationalité. L'opposition qui leur est manifestée maintenant ne formule aucune critique spéciale.

Quant aux Allemands, ils préconisent tantôt le *statu quo* dans un pays livré à l'anarchie financière et administrative et au désordre, tantôt, sous prétexte de défendre "l'égalité économique," l'octroi pour leurs nationaux de concessions qui constituent

des avantages exclusifs. Cette politique contradictoire dans ses allégations ne peut trouver d'appui solide sur la clause de la nation la plus favorisée qu'on ne saurait étendre à ces matières. Elle n'a d'autre tendance que la satisfaction d'ambitions auxquelles fait obstacle l'Accord Franco-Anglais et que ne sauraient justifier ni la situation politique de l'Allemagne au Maroc, ni l'importance du commerce qui y est effectué par ses ressortissants.

No. 316.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 22.)

(No. 136.)

My Lord, *Tangier, June* 12, 1905.

AS far as I have been able to ascertain, the promise given to Count Tattenbach for the building of a quay and warehouses at Tangier has not gone beyond that stage, and has not yet been reduced to a contract.

I asked M. Saint-René Taillandier whether he had been able to ascertain anything regarding the details of the scheme, and whether it would constitute a monopoly. His Excellency replied that, as far as he had been able to hear, it was not so dangerous a scheme as he at first thought, and that the contract would be merely for building the quay and warehouses, to be, when concluded, handed over to the Moorish Government, the contractors being reimbursed the 70,000*l.* at the end of ten years.

However unpalatable it may be to the French Minister to see works of this nature initiated under German auspices, I see no ground for objection on our part, for the quay and the warehouses are both much required for the commerce of Tangier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 317.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 22.)

(No. 137.)

My Lord, *Fez, June* 12, 1905.

BEN SLIMAN, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, having invited me yesterday to go and see him, communicated to me a verbal message in reply to my verbal communication reported in my despatch No. 132 of the 9th instant, in which I informed the Moorish Government that His Majesty's Government could not accept the invitation to the Conference at Tangier.

It was to the following effect :—

The Moorish Government intends introducing such reforms as are possible into its Empire. These reforms it will carry out itself and not through any other Power in pursuance of its freedom and independence within His Majesty's dominions.

It requested the foreign Representatives to hold a conference to discuss the nature of the reforms and the source from which the funds for this expenditure could be derived, as their nationals will be affected thereby and will have to pay the taxes which will be levied, the same as Moorish subjects.

The British Government being one of the Signatory Powers of the Madrid Convention is aware that the Moorish Government could not omit inviting any of the said Powers to the Conference.

Regarding the remark that this step was ill-advised, the Makhzen observes that the request for the holding of this Conference was issued after mature consideration by the Government and the Notables, and they had given their opinions and a unanimous decision that the invitation be issued without any delay in the interests of the country and in maintenance of the Treaties and of the rights of independence of the Sultan. It was not issued by the advice of any one else. It is well known that the British Government does not wish the Moorish Government to commit a breach of the Treaties by accepting the introduction of reforms at the hands of one special Power, specially as, by the Madrid Convention, all the nations have the right of equality.

No. 318*.

*The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Rennie.**

(No. 65.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, June 22, 1905.*

I SPOKE to Austrian, Italian, Russian, and Spanish Ambassadors yesterday on the subject of the Morocco Conference, and told them that His Majesty's Government had learnt that communications on the subject were still pending between French and German Governments; that the former were convinced that their intentions with regard to Morocco were completely misunderstood, and that the first step to be taken was a fresh exchange of ideas between the two Governments as to the points which German Government wished to refer to the Conference. French Government believed that there was no fundamental difference between the views of the two Governments; they had disclaimed any designs upon Sultan's sovereignty or rights of other Powers; they considered that the discussion invited by M. Rouvier might show that there was no occasion for holding a Conference, and that a direct Agreement was the best and promptest method of obtaining satisfactory result.

His Majesty's Government must, in these circumstances, withhold their reply to German Government's proposal until the result of the communications passing between the two Governments was known.

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* Also to Sir E. Egerton (No. 165), Sir C. Hardinge (No. 211), and Sir A. Nicolson (No. 43).

On this last paragraph I observed that the Convention of Madrid guaranteed commercial equality but said nothing about reforms, and as I had given the reply of His Majesty's Government to the Conference, I did not think it advisable to discuss the matter further with his Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 318.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 22.)

(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June 17, 1905.*

MYtelegram No. 67 of yesterday.

I am informed by M. Saint-René Taillandier that certain advantages are no longer permitted; the Governor-General of Algeria has simply given a warning to this effect, but no official notice thereof has been issued by the French Government.

No. 319.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 23.)

(No. 119.)
Madrid, June 20, 1905.

My Lord,

AT a reception of the Diplomatic Body at the Palace yesterday the Minister of State requested me to remain, as he wished to speak to me in regard to some news which he had received from Paris. M. de Villaurrutia said that he had received a telegram from the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, which was, I understood, to the effect that M. Rouvier had informed his Excellency that an intimation had been given by the German Government that if France engaged to remain neutral in any complications in which Germany might in the future be involved, German opposition to French projects in Morocco and elsewhere would be abandoned.

I subsequently met M. de Villaurrutia at the Senate, and I said that the news which he had given me that afternoon was of some importance, and I asked in what form the German intimation had been conveyed.

M. de Villaurrutia replied that I must have misunderstood him, as no intimation, so far as he was aware, had actually been made, but that M. Rouvier had informed the Spanish Ambassador that he thought that if France gave an engagement to Germany as to her neutrality in possible future eventualities, all difficulties would disappear, both as regards Morocco and elsewhere. I was unable to pursue the conversation, as we were interrupted, but I will endeavour to elicit further details as to the exact terms of the communication made by M. Rouvier.

In regard to the observations which the German Ambassador had been making with respect to the alleged declarations in Paris and the general attitude of M. de Villaurrutia, which I reported in my despatch No. 115 of the 17th instant, I may mention that the latter informed the French Ambassador that he had spoken warmly to M. de Radowitz on the subject, and had stated that he refused to admit that any words or action on his part had in any way justified the remarks which had been made in his absence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

No. 320.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 23.)

(Separate.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, June 23, 1905.*

A STATEMENT is made in a telegram appearing in the "Temps" of the 19th instant that the Washington correspondent of the "Standard" reported that the President of the United States intimated to Baron Sternberg that the United States would participate in the Conference of the Powers with regard to Morocco.

I am told by M. Gummeré that he has no knowledge of this.

No. 321.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 23.)

(Separate.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, June* 23, 1905.

MY telegram, Separate, of the 12th June: murder of Mr. Madden.

Writing from Mazagan, Mr. Maclean informs me that he has strong suspicion that men belonging to a band of well-known bad characters are guilty of the crime.

The Governor is afraid of taking energetic action before the special Commissioners, whose despatch from Fez was obtained by Mr. Lowther, have arrived, and had not apprehended any of this band, being nervous of a popular revolt.

Mr. Maclean thinks that the criminals will, in the end, be traced and arrested, and he is convinced that the Governor is aware of the identity of the criminals.

No. 322.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir E. Goschen.

(No. 62.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 23, 1905.

THE Austro-Hungarian Ambassador asked me to receive him this afternoon, and told me, with reference to our recent conversation on the subject of Morocco (see my despatch No. 60 of the 21st instant), that he had received from Count Goluchowski a statement to the following effect:—

It appeared from news which his Excellency had received from London and Paris that an uncompromising attitude with regard to a Moroccan Conference was not being maintained in England and France, as it appeared at first would be the case.

The Austro-Hungarian Government were all the more satisfied that it seemed to them that a Conference, whose object would be determined in advance, would offer the best means for an exchange of views between the Powers interested, even if it did not at the outset yield much result.

The Austro-Hungarian Government would raise no objections if the Conference decided, in the interests of the pacification and civilization of the country, to give a mandate to one or even two Powers, provided, of course, their rights to the most-favoured-nation treatment were reserved.

Should the proposal for a Conference prove abortive,—in which case the commercial *status quo* and the Madrid Convention would remain in force,—the state of affairs in Morocco, in all that regards to personal and commercial security, would be as hitherto. No one would thereby be any the better off, and it was to be feared that, in default of an understanding, serious difficulties might arise between Germany and France.

The Austro-Hungarian Government were of opinion that Lord Lansdowne would be rendering a great service to the cause of general peace if he would take into his serious consideration the question of the participation of England in the Conference, and would, should he judge it necessary, use his influence with the French Government in the same direction.

I told his Excellency that I observed with satisfaction that the attitude of the Austro-Hungarian Government did not differ in principle from ours, although there were some points in Count Goluchowski's proposal which had certainly not occurred to us, *e.g.*, the suggestion that a mandate might, if necessary, be given to more than one Power in Morocco. For the present all we could do was to await the result of the discussions which were now going on in Paris. I took the opportunity of saying that the tone of the communication addressed by M. Rouvier to the German Government seemed to me so conciliatory that I could scarcely conceive that it should not meet with a considerate response.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 323.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Whitehead.

(No. 140.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 23, 1905.

I INFORMED the German Ambassador to-day, on his return to London, that I had been made aware of the purport of M. Rouvier's reply to the German Government on the subject of the proposed Conference as to Morocco. I gathered from it that the French Government were decidedly of opinion that the first step to be taken was a frank exchange of ideas between the two Governments as to the subjects which might be referred to the Conference; that they were convinced that their intentions with regard to Morocco were completely misunderstood; that they disclaimed any designs upon the sovereignty of the Sultan or upon the rights of other Powers; that they believed that there was, in fact, no fundamental difference between their views and those of the German Government, and that in these circumstances a direct agreement seemed to them the best and promptest mode of arriving at a satisfactory result. They were not without hopes that the discussion which M. Rouvier invited might show that there was no occasion for holding a Conference at all. In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government considered that they could not, for the present, with advantage express any opinion as to the necessity of a Conference, and they must, therefore, withhold their reply to the communication which his Excellency had made to me on the 6th instant until they learnt the result of the discussion now proceeding between the French and German Governments. I added that I had been much impressed by the conciliatory tone of M. Rouvier's reply.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 324.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 24.)

(No. 226. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, June* 22, 1905.

YESTERDAY being the weekly reception day at the Foreign Office, I called on M. Rouvier in case he had anything to say in regard to the Morocco question.

His Excellency read to me some passages in a note which he had addressed to the German Ambassador, of which he told me a copy had been communicated to your Lordship yesterday morning by M. Cambon.

In the waiting-room I met the Spanish Ambassador. He told me that he had suggested to the German Ambassador that Morocco was not really the reason for the German Emperor's displeasure with France, but that Prince Radolin had assured him that His Majesty and his Government were irritated at the treatment of the question of Morocco by the French Government without having obtained the concurrence of Germany, and that Morocco was the sole question at issue.

The Marquis del Muni expressed to me his conviction that the German Emperor desired to constitute himself the protector of the Sultan of Morocco in the same way as he had succeeded in making himself in the eyes of the Mussulman world the protector of the Ottoman Sultan.

The object was, his Excellency said, immediately remunerative commercially, and promised political advantages in the future in the event of difficulties between Germany and England and the German Government desiring to cause embarrassment to His Majesty's Government in India.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 325.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 24.)

(No. 69.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 20, 1905.

YESTERDAY evening Ben Sliman brought to the notice of M. Saint-René Taillandier that the Pretender was menacing the line of march from Borj-Saida, owing to the action lately taken by France, a situation of great peril being thereby created in respect of Ujda.

M. Saint-René Taillandier answered that he was momentarily awaiting a reply from his Government to the note presented by the Makhzen, protesting against the non-admittance of munitions of war.

The Makhzen were dissatisfied with this reply, averring that the existence of the dynasty would be gravely affected by the capitulation of Ujda.

The Council of Notables was to-day convoked by His Shereefian Majesty.

Although the results of my investigations are not absolutely similar to those obtained by the French Minister, we have both learnt that it is most likely that the Germans will obtain a concession to improve the port of Borj-Saida, where it was suggested general commerce should be permitted.

These suggestions were, of course, unanimously agreed to by the Council of Notables.

M. Saint-René Taillandier considers, although he is not certain on this point, that the creation of a perilous situation in this direction would be avoided by their Treaties.

No. 326.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 24.)

(Separate.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Tangier, June* 24, 1905.

MY telegram, Separate, of the 3rd instant.

I have transmitted to His Majesty's Minister at Fez the answer of the Danish Government, to the effect that they will attend a Conference at the invitation of His Shereefian Majesty, provided that all the Great Powers concerned will also participate.

No. 327.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 26.)

(No. 138.)
My Lord, *Fez, June* 12, 1905.

WITH reference to the correspondence between your Lordship's Department and the Howard Association regarding the present state of the prisons and the treatment of prisoners in Morocco, I asked the French Minister whether he had made any representation on the subject to the Moorish Government.

His Excellency, however, said that, in view of the manner in which his general proposals for reform have been met by His Majesty and his Government, it was obviously impossible to put forward any suggestion regarding the control of prisons with a view to the improvement of the lot of the prisoners.

The inspectors who were for a time appointed have no doubt been removed for motives of economy, the resources of the Treasury being completely exhausted, and all officials being months in arrear of pay, and I much fear that under present circumstances it would be useless to urge any improvement in this direction, any request of the nature suggested being certain to be ignored.

Moreover, I am informed that latterly there have been fewer prisoners, and that those that are confined have consequently a less miserable lot. Certain it is that for some time past no complaints on this subject have reached His Majesty's Legation. I have caused inquiries to be instituted regarding the condition of the prisons here, and I inclose herewith a short report on the subject, and I am also calling for reports from Tangier and Dar-al-Baida.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

Inclosure in No. 327.

Memoradum respecting New Fez—Ziballa Prison.

PRISONERS, 150; tribesmen, mostly from southern provinces. They appear to have plenty of air and room. Water seems all right. Walls have not been re-limewashed.

Two "Dakekkan" Prisons. (Street between them.)

Number of prisoners not known. Prisons very crowded; water plentiful. Walls have not been re-limewashed. In both these "Dakekkan" prisons there are open court-yards, where prisoners are allowed to pitch tents. At present these court-yards are very crowded.

In all the above prisons the poorest prisoners are given a daily ration of two small loaves by the authorities. Occasionally a day may pass without issue of this ration, but, as a rule, it is issued. It is issued by an "Amin," one Oold Taleb-ben-Iss, who attends daily to its distribution.

No issue of clothes to the prisoners has been made.

Old Fez Prisons.

Two—but both open from same small court-yard. In all some 150 prisoners are here. They are mixed, townspeople (old Fez jurisdiction) and tribesmen from north and east of Fez.

Plenty of light and air; water plentiful. Sanitary arrangements inoffensive.

The Amin, Oold-ben-Iss, attends almost daily and distributes ration of two small loaves to poorest prisoners. No clothes are ever issued. Walls have not been re-limewashed.

The Oomana and Notaries, who used to attend daily to take note of the prisoners who had entered and left the prison, have for many months ceased to do so.

In all foregoing prisons the prisoners are allowed to make articles for sale (baskets, panniers, &c.) to support themselves.

No. 328.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 26.)

(No. 139. Secret.)
My Lord, *Fez, June* 14, 1905.

I, TO-DAY, had a private audience of His Majesty the Sultan, and had the privilege of a conversation of one-and-a-half hours with His Majesty.

After the usual compliments I told His Majesty that I desired to thank him for the prompt action he had caused to be taken in the appointment of a high officer to proceed to Mazagan to investigate the cowardly murder of Mr. Daniel Madden. His Majesty replied that this was only proper, and he trusted it would have the necessary result, but that some blame attached to the victim, as he had been frequently warned not to live outside the town. Of this I had no knowledge, but I said that it was extremely desirable that some example should be made, for crimes of this nature were latterly becoming too frequent, and I might take this opportunity of telling His Majesty that I considered His Majesty's Ministers treated with too great carelessness communications from His Majesty's Legation. Some little time ago I had called the attention of the Acting Commissioner at Tangier to the firing upon a British vessel, the "Jubilee," near Ceuta, presumably by some Angera tribe, and when I inquired here what had been done in the matter, I was informed that no report had been received from Tangier, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs had pleaded ignorance of the whole matter. His Majesty admitted that this was not right, and assured me that instructions had been sent to the Acting Commissioner to report at once on the matter.

Turning then to political matters, I asked His Majesty's permission to explain the reasons for which His Majesty's Government did not see its way to attend the proposed Conference, explaining that His Majesty's Government had at heart the welfare of this country, but that they considered the Conference would serve no good purpose, as the subject of the necessary reforms for the country would have to be discussed by a number of Powers, most of whom had no direct interest in Morocco.

Moreover it had been proved again and again in different parts of the world that a multitude of advisers never produced much benefit to a country, but that it was more desirable that the rôle of adviser should be undertaken by a Power which had the greatest possible interest in seeing this country prosper.

His Majesty then stated that he would like to lay before me the position of the Moorish Government in the matter.

After the visit of Menebhi to London and Berlin it was decided after consultation with those Governments to introduce the Tertib (new programme for rural taxation), and it was understood that this taxation should be uniform for all classes of society and all nationalities. But when an attempt was made to levy the tax on the Shereefs, Tamslot, a British protégé, refused, but, on reference to Sir A. Nicolson, the latter stated that the Shereef was liable in the same manner as other subjects. Then when it was attempted to levy these taxes in the north, the Shereefs of Wazan, who are under French protection, declined to pay, and Sir A. Nicolson's advice being asked at Rabat he had urged that the taxation of the Shereefs could not be insisted upon. This obliged the Government to remit the taxation from the Shereefs, and exemption having been granted in their case, the whole population then likewise refused to pay, and consequently no taxes have been received for three or four years.

Then came M. Saint-René Taillandier with his Mission to Fez, who, in reply to His Majesty's inquiries, said that he had come authorized by the Powers to suggest certain reforms. When invited to state what Powers had given him this authority M. Saint-René Taillandier had replied, that first and foremost stood that Power which had previously been the trusted friend and adviser of His Majesty.

The Sultan then suggested to M. Saint-René Taillandier that these proposals should be examined together with those which His Majesty had to suggest, and that possibly some arrangement might thus be arrived at.

But this, His Majesty said, the French Minister had declined to consider, and had hinted that if the proposed reforms were not quietly accepted some forcible measures would have to be employed to bring them about. To this I observed that was it not possible that some mistake had been made in the translation, for I understood that one of the French Ministers' interpreters was not very proficient in Arabic, but His Majesty insisted that there could be no doubt as the interpreter on that occasion was a Mahommedan, and that he had had the same impression both then and at the Ministers' subsequent meetings with the Notables.

His Majesty being unable to accept the French proposals had called the meeting of Notables, convinced that, were the news to reach the people of the possibility of his accepting the French proposals, feeling would run high against him. During the Taza Expedition, although he had at that time only a few Europeans in his service, there existed an impression among the tribes that his soldiers were Christians disguised as Moors, and this had produced a strong feeling against him.

I then observed to His Majesty that, although I was not in the secrets of the French Government, yet, from what I had learned, there was no objection in principle on the part of the Moorish Government to the reforms, but rather to the manner of their application, and that, from what I knew of them, they would, if adopted, bring about a new era of prosperity for the country. To this His Majesty replied that the first proposal put forward was for the employment of some forty-six French or Algerian officers and soldiers to every four or five hundred Moorish soldiers to garrison all the ports, and that this large increase of foreign officers and men would inevitably produce disturbances in the population. His Majesty had, therefore, suggested that as there were now about twelve foreign instructors, the number might be raised by five or six more. To this M. Saint-René replied that he had expected His Majesty to suggest the reduction of some two or three to every 500 Moorish soldiers, and could not accept this sweeping reduction.

I then pointed out that opposition was naturally to be expected, but that this could be overcome. An ignorant and inexperienced people must give way to those who had more knowledge and experience, and the people, when they saw their condition improved and benefits accruing, would soon become used to the presence of the foreign Advisers, though, at the same time, I admitted that such reforms should be carried out gradually, and with much care and respect for existing institutions.

His Majesty then made a general allusion to the Bank Reforms proposed by M. Saint-René, stating that the proposals and regulations were drafted entirely to favour the French, and omitted the interests of the Moorish Government.

His Majesty also alluded to the proposals made by France for founding schools, which should be under the control of France, and free from the superintendence of the Moorish Governor. And His Majesty added that the French had suggested that all dealings with foreigners in the matter of economic undertakings would have to be under French control, and that this of itself constituted an attack upon his Sovereign rights, and on the independence of the country.

To this I observed that His Majesty's remarks caused me some surprise, as under the Anglo-French Convention, which His Majesty had mentioned in Article II, the French Government declared that they had no intention of altering the political status of Morocco, and in Article IV the French reserved to themselves the right to see that concessions were granted on such conditions as would maintain intact the authority of the State over great undertakings.

His Majesty observed that he was no party to this Convention, and that consequently he had no concern with it, that his country was entirely free and independent, and not like Egypt and Tunis, which had been under the suzerainty of Turkey, and implied that he could not be bound in any way by a Convention made by third parties with regard to his country. I merely remarked that a solemn declaration signed by two of the greatest Powers in the world was not one which could be disregarded. His Majesty must see that it was vexatious for a Power like France to have on her boundaries a country which, for years, was in a state of turmoil. It was an evil that was contagious, and that destroyed all progress and all commerce, and it was consequently more to her advantage than that of any other Power that Morocco should be prosperous and rich, and, consequently, we considered she was the Power to give advice.

His Majesty then proceeded to say that the Notables had, in the first instance, categorically declined to listen to the French proposals, but His Majesty had invited them to do nothing rash, as the Notables stated that if France wished to impose the reforms by force, they would have nothing left but to fight for their country, and it was then that the proposal for the Conference was put forward, at which a scheme would be submitted for the general taxation of the people, and, as this would entail the taxation of foreigners and foreign protégés, the adherence of all the Foreign Powers represented at Tangier would be required. I pointed out that this adhesion to the scheme could be obtained by other means than a Conference.

The Notables had admitted that, if the Conference decided to depute to France the duty of assisting the Moorish Government in the introduction of reforms they would have to submit, but they would require from those Powers a guarantee that the integrity of their country should be maintained, and that the French would retire when the Moorish Government would require them to do so.

During the course of my audience, His Majesty two or three times insinuated that the language of the French Minister had been somewhat threatening, and that, not only recently, but from the first moment of his mentioning the question of reforms. This is so entirely at variance with all the assurances given me by M. Saint-René that I am at a loss to understand what actually has occurred, and it is quite possible that in the irritation under which His Majesty is suffering, he may have drawn somewhat upon his imagination.

His Majesty, as regards myself, was most pleasant, and I was struck by the clearness of the manner in which he put forward his case, rarely hesitating for a word, and speaking throughout with much calm and dignity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 329.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 140. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Fez, June 14, 1905.*

A REPORT reached me a few days ago that the Shereef Kitsany, who is a leading reactionary amongst the notables, and is one of the Ulema, had been asked to formulate an appeal on the part of the Sultan, to all the tribes, loyal as well as disloyal, and that in this the Pretender was to be denounced as the source of all the

present evils of the disturbed country, dearth, and foreign aggression, and the tribes were enjoined to abandon him or give him up. As to whether Kitsany was himself to visit the tribes with this appeal, or was merely compiling it, the reports were conflicting. But it was stated that fair copies of the appeal, in the shape of a Shereefian circular, had been written out and now awaited only the Sultan's seal.

I consequently caused inquiries to be made in a confidential manner of the Shereef himself, who denies these facts.

It seems, however, that about twelve months ago the Shereef wrote a sort of pamphlet against the Pretender, putting the case against him, and in favour of the Sultan, from the Islamic religious point of view. The other day the Court sent for this pamphlet, and he gave it to them, but he does not know what they are going to do with it. He says he is quite unacquainted with the tribes between Fez and Oudjah, so could not be a useful emissary to them.

News has also reached me that Sid Dris-el-Kamah, a merchant, and one who has held various small local appointments as Amin, about twelve months ago sent the Pretender a present, and afterwards, through a friend, visited him. He made professions of friendship, and assured him that the people of Fez were in favour of his cause, and was well received. Later on he went to Oujdah, and then returned to Fez viâ Tangier. He has now agreed to entice the Pretender to a point within striking distance of the Makhzen's troops, and has been given about 250 men for Oujdah viâ Tangier, and a letter of recommendation to the various Moorish authorities in Tangier district and Oujdah. These are no doubt the troops the departure of which I reported in my despatch No. 122 of the 4th instant.

If he captures the Pretender he is to have a reward of 50,000 dollars, and he has been, so my informant says, paid 10,000 dollars in advance.

It must, however, be borne in mind that all similar attempts on the part of the Makhzen to capture the Pretender have always failed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 330.

Mr. Wyldbore Smith to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 26.)

Tangier, June 17, 1905.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that last week there arrived here from Fez a force of about 400 infantry, under the command of Kaïd-el-Udee, to take the place of the existing garrison, which, on paper, amounted to about 1,000 men, contained in two battalions, but which in reality numbered no more than from 750 to 800 men.

These two battalions, with 100 horses, are now being sent to Oujdah to reinforce the garrison there, being transported from here by sea to the Moorish port of Saidia, at the mouth of the Kiss River, whence they will march to Oujdah.

The authorities here are finding it a most difficult task to get these troops on board the Moorish transport "Sidi Et-Turki," which can only take some 250 men at a time, and the men themselves seize every available opportunity to desert. It is, therefore, most improbable that the whole number actually embarked at Tangier will ever reach Oujdah, and the march from Saidia to Oujdah—a distance of some 34 miles—will offer additional opportunities for desertion, not to mention the fact that they will be extremely liable to be attacked on this section of their journey by the Pretender's forces.

Since the Algerian authorities have closed their ports to Moorish troops and arms, they must run this additional risk, which they formerly avoided by disembarking at an Algerian port, and keeping within the Algerian frontier until within some few kilometres of Oujdah, when they could avail themselves of a favourable opportunity, when none of the Pretender's forces were at hand, and march with safety into Oujdah.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND WYLDBORE SMITH.

No. 331*.

Sir A. Nicolson to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 48. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P.

Madrid, June 26, 1905.

PROPOSED understanding with Spain.

I was informed confidentially to-day by Minister for Foreign Affairs at reception of Diplomatic Body, that specially intimate relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government were desired by the King, the Government, and himself.

I think the moment is favourable if your Lordship would like me to speak to the new Government with regard to the questions referred to in your Lordship's despatch No. 64 to Mr. Cartwright as having been mentioned to the late Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs when he was in London.

No. 331.

Sir F. Bertie to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 26.)

(No. 228. Confidential.)

Paris, June 24, 1905.

My Lord,

LAST night at a party given by Prince and Princess Murat the German Ambassador expressed surprise at the panic there had been on the Bourse. It could not be accounted for, he said, by anything in the Morocco negotiations, for they appeared to be going on smoothly, due in great part to the conciliatory disposition of His Majesty's Government, and he asked me whether I did not think Count Metternich's conversations with your Lordship very satisfactory.

I replied that I had not seen in the correspondence forwarded to His Majesty's Embassy any record of a conversation between Count Metternich and your Lordship of a later date than the 16th instant. I did not therefore know what views the Count had lately expressed.

Prince Radolin said that a Conference would settle everything.

I suggested to his Excellency that unless some settlement were arrived at beforehand a Conference would be likely to complicate matters, and that we should like to know what questions were to be discussed in conference.

Prince Radolin observed that it was pretty well known what matters would come up for discussion. There was the question of reforms. Our conversation was here interrupted by someone coming up to speak to his Excellency, and we separated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

No. 332.

Manchester Chamber of Commerce to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 27.)

Manchester, June 26, 1905.

My Lord,

THE Board of Directors of this Chamber desire me to address you with reference to the Anglo-French Treaty respecting Morocco, respectfully suggesting a certain line of action in the event of its terms becoming the subject of revision.

It was with much regret that the Board received the information, shortly after the Agreement was entered into, of the stipulation contained therein that the present tariff conditions of British trade with Morocco were to be limited to the term of thirty years. The Board was, of course, not aware whether this limitation was a stipulation of the French Ministry—which may, perhaps, be assumed—or whether it was voluntarily offered by the British Foreign Office. In either case they were unwilling at that time to offer objection to what appeared to be one of the Articles of the cordial understanding with the French Government, which was heartily welcomed by the Chamber. It is, however, only right to let you know that this acquiescence implied considerable sacrifice on the part of Manchester merchants doing business with Morocco. The trade with Morocco in cotton yarns and piece goods has averaged in value considerably over half a million sterling for the last five years. From experience of the past Agreements of this nature with the French, the closure of another British market was brought within the bounds of probability. Viewed from the standpoint of international trade the French Government avowedly favour the trade of France in French Colonial tariff arrangements. French Colonies are regarded by the French as so many outlets for French trade, in which France ought to have a great advantage. In this manner British interests have suffered in Tunis and Madagascar. As to Tunis, the French have not only the right to denounce the present duties of 5 per cent. on cotton goods, payable on British exports, after the year 1912, but to increase these duties indefinitely; whilst French cotton goods and most other commodities have been duty-free since 1897. As to Madagascar, the French have imposed heavy differential duties under the somewhat specious plea that the Agreement made between Great Britain and Madagascar—observed by France when Madagascar became a French Protectorate—did not extend to the régime of Madagascar as a French Colony. This has had the effect of putting an absolute stop to British trade in cotton goods with that Colony.

Quite recently, at the request of this Chamber, the Foreign Office has made representations to the French Government against the suggested imposition of differential duties in French Guinea.

For these reasons the Board rejoices to observe that an opportunity is likely to be afforded for an alteration of the onerous stipulation in the Morocco Agreement, and I am respectfully to express the earnest hope of the Directors that, if possible, the occasion should be used to obtain the removal of the restriction of the term of thirty years to which the present Anglo-French Agreement would confine the duration of the present general import customs duties of Morocco, and the substitution therefore of a guarantee for the perpetuation of the *status quo ante*. At the same time it is hoped that your Lordship will guard against the introduction of any other restriction which would give an invidious advantage to the trade of one country over that of another in Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER SPEAKMAN, *Secretary*.

No. 333.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 27.)

(No. 70.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 27, 1905.

IN absolute contradiction to an Agreement made in July 1902, in writing, between the Makhzen and the French Minister, the Sultan has requested the appointment by German Government of military instructors for duty at the new garrison at Borj-Saida.

No. 334.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 27.)

(No. 71.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 27, 1905.

YOUR telegram No. 38 of the 18th instant. Pourparlers now in progress between French and German Governments are beginning to cause the Makhzen some anxiety. They have, however, been assured by Count von Tattenbach that these are mere commonplace acts of civility, and that Germany will never withdraw from the attitude assumed by her.

No. 335.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Bertie.

(No. 419.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 27, 1905.

THE French Ambassador asked me to see him this morning, in order that he might mention to me one or two points arising out of the situation in Morocco.

He was, in the first place, instructed to ask me whether His Majesty's Government saw any objection to the withdrawal of the British and French Representatives from Fez. M. Rouvier doubted whether their continued presence at that place was likely to have good results. Count Tattenbach was still there, although his suite had all left. His language was reported to be very violent, and it was feared that the influence which he had acquired over the Sultan was great. It was not likely that he would leave so long as Mr. Lowther and M. Saint-René Taillandier remained. If they left, Count Tattenbach would probably follow. He was quite capable, if he stayed where he was, of instigating the Sultan to bring about some occurrence which might be unpleasant or dangerous to the French and British Representatives. In these circumstances, the French Government thought that the latter might come away, although not simultaneously, or in such a manner as to create the impression that it was "a retreat."

His Excellency also told me that the Sultan was likely to give a concession to a German Company to construct a harbour, with defences of some kind, at a point to the east of the mouth of the Mulaya, and close to the Algerian frontier. The proposal was attractive to the Sultan, because it would give him a direct and independent means of access for troops and munitions of war, which now passed through French territory.

No. 336*.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir A. Nicolson.

(No. 44.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, January* 27, 1905.

ANGLO-SPANISH relations.

Your telegram No. 48 of the 26th instant.

You must use your own discretion, though it seems to us doubtful whether you should broach the subject so soon.

The Council of Notables was believed to be favourable to the scheme, which now awaited the Sultan's consent.

In the third place, his Excellency told me that there was reason to believe that "the Grand Mufti" of Cairo was about to go to Morocco. He was an important personage, and believed to be connected with the Progressive and Pan-Islamist section of the Mohammedans. His Excellency would be glad to know what we thought of the matter, and whether it might not be well to deter the Grand Mufti from this expedition.

I told his Excellency, with regard to the first point, that I would take upon myself to say that we did not desire to retain Mr. Lowther at Fez longer than the French Government thought desirable.

As to the second point, his Excellency was aware of our objection to the establishment of a German strategical base upon the Moorish seaboard. I should not fail to bring the matter before my colleagues at our next meeting.

As to the third point, I said that I would confer with Lord Cromer, who would no doubt be able to give us valuable advice as to the proceedings of the Grand Mufti.

His Excellency went on to tell me, but in the strictest confidence, that M. Bihourd had presented the French note to Prince Bülow, who, after reading it through, had observed that it was for him "une grande déception." Prince Bülow could not understand why the French Government discouraged the idea of a Conference. M. Bihourd had replied that they had not refused a Conference, but desired to know what subjects the Conference was to discuss. Prince Bülow then observed that the proposal for a Conference had been made by the Sultan, and that the German Government could not properly undertake to define the questions to be brought before it. His Excellency thought, however, that the tone of the German press had become more reasonable, and that, on the other hand, French public opinion, which had passed through a phase of extreme nervousness, was again becoming more steady.

I am, &c.
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 336.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 40.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Foreign Office, June* 27, 1905.

THE French Ambassador informed me to-day that his Government doubted whether the continued presence of the British and French Representatives at Fez was likely to have good results, and inquired whether His Majesty's Government had any objection to their withdrawal from that place. His Excellency said that as long as you and the French Minister remained, it was not likely that the German Minister would leave, but that he would probably follow if you both went. His Excellency added that as long as the German Minister stayed at Fez there was risk of his instigating the Sultan to bring about some unpleasant or dangerous occurrence, and that his Government thought that the British and French Representatives had better leave, though not together, to avoid creating the impression that it was "a retreat."

I told his Excellency that we had no desire to retain you longer than was thought desirable at Fez. You should, therefore, confer with your French colleague as to the most opportune moment for leaving.

No. 337.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(Received June 28.)

(No. 141.)
My Lord, *Fez, June* 16, 1905.

FOR some time past nothing has been heard of Raisuli, and he seems to have shown some energy in keeping his district quiet, but his nomination as Governor has not convinced him that he enjoys the confidence of the Sultan. In this he shows a wise judgment, for there can be but little doubt that the Government, in obtaining his appointment as Governor, were merely laying a trap for him, into which, however, he is not likely easily to fall.

Raisuli latterly sent up a relative of his to Court with presents for His Majesty. This man was well received, and presents were returned to Raisuli. But, in spite of this exchange of compliments, I understand that Raisuli has suddenly sent away his money and valuables, so that he must have a suspicion that an attempt is to be made to secure him.

There is every probability of our hearing something of him in the future, as on the 11th instant, at the very gates of Tangier—indeed, practically in the town—there was a fight between some people of the Beni M'Sowar tribe and some Anghera people, the latter losing all their animals.

As Raisuli is near these two tribes, and as this incident is certain to produce trouble between them, he will inevitably be mixed up in it.

Another incident, which will probably produce reprisals on his part, is the at tackin Tangier on Raisuli's deputy by Anghera men. The attack is supposed to have taken place owing to their annoyance at Raisuli's energy in trying to prevent them from carrying on contraband.

The man died of his wounds.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 338.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 28.)

(No. 142.)
My Lord, *Fez, June* 16, 1905.

M. SAINT-RENÉ told me yesterday that the communication which your Lordship had instructed me to make, to the effect that His Majesty's Government did not see its way to take part in the Conference at Tangier proposed by the Moorish Government, had produced a considerable effect on the minds of the Sultan's advisers. But this communication had been promptly followed by the acceptance of Germany, and no reply had been given by France.

This had somewhat modified the effect of Great Britain's refusal, although German acceptance was previously assured. Since then no other Power had accepted or declined, and the German Minister having, as I have been informed, told His Majesty that the German Government would accept the invitation, the Moorish Government still clung to the hope that they would not receive a rebuff in the matter.

M. Saint-René said that it was most important that the refusal of some other Powers should be promptly forthcoming, otherwise he feared that the Sultan might think that Germany was all-powerful to control the decisions of the majority of Powers, and he might be induced to give way to that Power in the matter of concessions, &c.

I pointed out to his Excellency that, under the somewhat modified condition of affairs since the resignation of M. Delcassé, it was more than probable that the Powers not directly interested would hesitate and watch the turn affairs took before they replied, but that I could not help thinking that the Sultan, satisfied with the notion that he had gained some time, would be as little likely to give way to German demands as he had been to accede to the proposals for reform presented by his Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 339.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 28.)

(No. 143.)
My Lord, *Fez, June* 16, 1905.

I ASKED the French Minister to-day whether he could tell me anything regarding a rumour that had reached me to the effect that an official and written communication had been made by the French Government to the Makhzen, stating that for the future it would be impossible to continue the privileges which had been granted to the Moorish Government in the matter of the passage of arms, ammunition, and money to the Sultan's troops through Algerian territory.

His Excellency replied that no such communication had been made, but that the Governor-General of Algeria had intimated that this courtesy could no longer be continued. The practice had entailed a considerable loss to the Algerian Exchequer, as all these articles were passed through free of duty, and the arms and ammunition unfortunately found their way from the Moorish troops into the hands of tribes on the frontier, which might constitute a serious damage to the Algerian Government.

M. Saint-René Taillandier added that he had yesterday seen Ben Sliman in order to communicate to his Government the resignation of M. Delcassé, and after making that statement he had added that he had nothing more to say.

Ben Sliman had then inquired as to the above order, the news of which, he said, had reached him from Tangier, and M. Saint-René Taillandier had replied as stated above, and had been very careful to point out that this was an administrative measure which the Governor-General of Algeria had seen fit to take, and had tried to leave an impression on the mind of Ben Sliman that the measure had not been adopted as a reply to the Moorish convocation to the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GERARD LOWTHER.

No. 340.

Mr. Lowther to the Marquess of Lansdowne.—(*Received June* 28.)

(No. 72.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Fez, June* 24, 1905.

THE Makhzen has addressed to me a note asking the British Government to review the refusal to be present at the Conference.

The Makhzen adds that it intends to bring in reforms of its own accord, and not through the agency of another, but for the purpose of levying taxes the agreement of all Powers is necessary.

No. 341.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Lister.

(No. 424.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 28, 1905.

I HAD another long conversation to-day with the French Ambassador as to the situation in Morocco.

His Excellency repeated to me again that when M. Bihourd handed the French note to Prince Bülow, the latter had observed that "c'était pour lui une grande déception," having regard to the assurances which the German Ambassador had been authorized to give to M. Rouvier. The French Government, Prince Bülow said, seemed determined to disregard the susceptibilities of the Sultan. The German Government, on the other hand, desired to maintain his independence and the integrity of his possessions, although they were fully disposed to reserve the future of the country for France ("à réserver l'avenir pour la France"). M. Bihourd had observed that, in his opinion, there were several points upon which the two Governments were in agreement, but Prince Bülow took no notice of this observation, merely observing that he thought the situation critical, and that the two Governments should be careful not to "linger upon a path which was surrounded by abysses and precipices."

His Excellency went on to say that as Prince Bülow had thus made an appeal to the assurances which Prince Radolin was supposed to have given, it was desirable that I should know what these assurances amounted to. Prince Radolin had had a conversation, which he was careful to describe as a private one, with M. Rouvier, and had given him, informally, a Memorandum containing statements to the following effect:—The German Government expected the French Government to signify its formal acceptance of the Conference. Even if the British Government refused to participate, the Conference might take place, because Great Britain had, so far as Morocco was concerned, abdicated in favour of France. France would certainly be a gainer, because her claims in Morocco would thus receive an European sanction. Should the Conference not take place, Germany would uphold her opinion as to the independence of the Sultan, although she recognized the right of France to police the regions adjoining her Algerian possessions. Elsewhere, however, and notably on the seaboard of the Atlantic, the army and the police of Morocco should be dealt with

by different Powers, and in regard to finance there should be no monopoly for the French Bank.

M. Rouvier had, his Excellency said, told Prince Radolin that he had no desire to anticipate the decision at which the Conference might arrive, but he asked that there should be an exchange of views between the two Governments, so that the Conference might be in a position to bring about some useful results. In his view, the correspondence which had already taken place furnished the materials for an understanding of the kind which he desired: matérials which could be easily put into proper shape for this purpose. As for the Sultan of Morocco, no encroachment was intended on his rights, nor was it desired to prevent him from proposing a programme of reforms should he desire to do so.

M. Rouvier did not reject the idea of a Conference, but he pointed out that it was for the German Government to render a Conference possible, and to enable it to take place under conditions which France could accept, and which would guarantee that it would not be held in vain. The French Government was quite prepared, if necessary, to associate the Sultan with the French and German Governments in the preparation of a programme for the Conference.

Prince Radolin thereupon replied that he was ready to ask the German Government for authority to give an official character to his previous declarations, which might be summarised as follows:—

(1.) The sovereignty of the Sultan was to be maintained;

(2.) The integrity of his possessions was to remain unimpaired;

(3.) The future of the country was to be reserved for France, and nothing was to be done to the detriment of her position in reference to Morocco ("qui pourrait empirer la situation de la France au Maroc");

(4.) The régime which might be established as the result of such an international arrangement was to have a temporary character;

(5.) The German Government would abandon their claim to deal with the question of reforms in the Atlantic regions of Morocco.

Prince Radolin had said that he would suggest these bases to the German Government, and that if they were approved they would, as soon as France had accepted a Conference in principle, be formally adopted by the German Government as the bases upon which the Conference would deliberate.

M. Rouvier had proceeded to suggest to Prince Radolin that, if an agreement were come to on these terms, the Representatives of France, Germany, and Great Britain should retire simultaneously from Fez. Prince Radolin had raised no objection to this.

There had also, M. Cambon told me, been an interview between M. Bihourd and Baron Richthofen, when the latter expressed his opinion that the conciliatory disposition which had been evinced on each side would probably have the result of bringing about an agreement. Baron Richthofen had said the same thing to the Italian Ambassador.

His Excellency ended by telling me that, in his opinion, the prospect was now much more hopeful, partly because the German Emperor had no doubt found out that his peremptory attitude had created a bad impression throughout the world, and partly because French opinion, which had for a time been very irresolute, was now adopting a more decided tone.

I told his Excellency, in reference to our last conversation, that I had ascertained from Lord Cromer that the Grand Mufti of Cairo was in bad health, and was not at all likely to visit Morocco for the purpose of making mischief there. His Excellency thought that it might nevertheless be desirable that he should be induced to postpone his visit. I also said that I had mentioned to my colleagues the information which his Excellency had given to me with regard to the possibility of a Concession being given to a German Company for the construction of a port on the Moorish seaboard near the Algerian frontier. In our view, much would depend upon the nature of the Concession, which might be harmless if it merely involved the construction of a port for the Sultan's convenience by a firm of German contractors. On the other hand, anything like the establishment of a strategic base in these waters by another Power would, in our opinion, be a serious matter. We hoped that any further information which the French Government could obtain would be communicated to us.

His Excellency's demeanour during our conversation struck me as much more hopeful than it had been on previous occasions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

No. 342.

The Marquess of Lansdowne to Mr. Whitehead.

(No. 150.)

Foreign Office, June 28, 1905.

Sir,

THE German Ambassador came to see me to-day, and brought with him a copy of the reply given by the German Government on the 24th instant to M. Rouvier's note upon the subject of Morocco. A translation of this document is inclosed herewith. His Excellency asked me whether I had yet seen the document in question, and I told him that the French Ambassador had given me an outline of its contents. The despatch had, his Excellency told me, been communicated to all the Powers Signatories of the Treaty of Madrid of 1880. I asked his Excellency what was his impression as to the present situation. He told me, as his personal opinion, that he regarded it as decidedly more hopeful, although Germany still adhered to her view as to the necessity of a Conference. The tone on each side was, however, most conciliatory. He was particularly anxious that I should know that at no moment had the German Government desired to fasten a quarrel upon France. He said this, because he was aware that an impression to the contrary existed in this country. I said that the language attributed to some of the German Representatives had certainly suggested the idea that it was desired to fasten a quarrel upon France. I had noticed with pleasure the considerate tone of the French note, and I was glad to learn from his Excellency that the language of the German Government was not less conciliatory.

I am, &c.

(Signed) LANSDOWNE.

Inclosure in No. 342.

Memorandum communicated by Count Metternich.

(Translation.)

IN a Memorandum communicated to the Imperial Government on the 23rd June, 1905, the Government of the French Republic express the view that the Conference of the Signatory Powers to the Convention of Madrid suggested by His Shereefian Majesty is neither necessary nor advisable in order to carry out the reforms which they have proposed to the Government of Morocco.

In this Memorandum the French Government declare that their object in making these proposals is neither to obtain control of internal and foreign affairs and of the army in Morocco, nor to prejudice the independence of the Sultan and the integrity of his dominions, or the Treaty rights of other Powers. The Imperial Government note these declarations with the more satisfaction that the Government of Morocco view the French proposals in a different light. The Imperial Government, further, are in complete agreement with the French Government in holding that the object of the proposed reforms must be to secure good government, the maintenance of order, and the economic prosperity of the country. The other Powers, whose subjects reside in Morocco or maintain commercial relations with that country, are equally interested with France in promoting these aims. It would, therefore, seem natural that the ways and means of attaining this object should be settled by mutual deliberation. Should the French Government, however, as they propose, undertake the accomplishment of this task alone, there is reason to fear that they will be driven more and more by the force of circumstances to take over the administration of the country, and that they will thereby gradually acquire a position in Morocco which, according to their own declarations, it is not their purpose to obtain.

The reforms proposed by the French Government with regard to the army, the administration of the interior, and the financial system, as communicated to the Imperial Government by the Government of Morocco, would constitute a serious danger to the independence of Morocco. Moreover, they do not appear to coincide with the statements contained in the Memorandum that the economic advantages of such reforms would benefit all the Powers to an equal extent; they would rather have the effect of according preferential treatment to the Power intrusted with carrying out the reforms, especially with regard to the granting of concessions. This is also evident from the proposals respecting commercial and financial affairs which, according to a communication from the Government of Morocco, have been put forward by the French Government.

It is not in accordance with the provisions of the Convention of Madrid that one of the Signatory Powers should acquire such a special position. Article XVII of the

Convention, under which the right of each Signatory Power to the most-favoured-nation treatment is guaranteed, is specifically opposed thereto, as under this Article preferential treatment is not to be accorded to any Power. The Imperial Government must, in this respect, maintain their view that the most-favoured-nation treatment is not, as the French Government would seem to assume, exclusively limited to the exercise of the right of protection, or to economic interests, but that it refers to all the claims of the Signatory Powers to influence in Morocco. This is clear not only from the text of the Article, which is couched in general terms, but from the circumstances and conditions which led both to the Convention of Madrid and the adoption of the Article referred to.

The consent of the other Powers is therefore necessary before reforms can be carried out in Morocco, at any rate in so far as it may seem advisable to grant special privileges to a single Signatory Power for the purpose. The easiest way of obtaining this consent would be to summon a Conference, which, quite apart from the legal considerations involved, would afford a suitable method of arriving at a compromise between the existing political and commercial interests of the Signatory Powers.

The Conference would, moreover, materially facilitate the task of obtaining the consent of the Sultan to the reforms, which is the first condition for their execution, since the proposals would then have received the sanction of all the Powers concerned. The Memorandum states that France, in consequence of the proximity of Algeria and the extent of the common frontier, is specially called upon to carry out the reforms, and it must be admitted at once that France has a very legitimate interest in securing the maintenance of order in the frontier districts. But, on the other hand, it cannot be claimed that the other Powers should therefore be excluded from participating in the work of the reforms.

While the reforms agreed upon at a Conference would absolutely guarantee the independence of the Sultan, such a Conference would also correspond with the purposes which inspired the Sultan to issue invitations thereto. The Imperial Government has accepted the invitation for this reason, and the character thereof has not been altered by the fact that they reserve to themselves the duty of safeguarding their Treaty rights. They do not, as stated in the French Memorandum, regard the reconfirmation of the rights of the Signatory Powers under the Convention of Madrid as the object, or even as a principal object, of the Conference; but they consider that if these Treaty rights are to be limited in order that reforms may be carried out, such limitation can only take place with the unanimous consent of the Powers. In correspondence with this view the Sultan has given it to be understood that his consent to the execution of reforms depends on the unanimous decision of the Signatory Powers.

Before the French Government adopt a decisive attitude in connection with the Morocco Conference, they desire to learn the views of the Imperial Government with regard to the solution of the various separate questions pending in Morocco. To comply with this desire the Imperial Government would be obliged to draw up a complete programme for the Conference, and to a certain extent to anticipate its decisions. They regret that they are not in a position to do this, both on grounds of form and for practical reasons.

The invitation to the Conference proceeded from the Sultan, who specified as the object thereof the discussion of reforms corresponding with the prevailing conditions in Morocco, and the provision of the necessary means for carrying them into effect. It will therefore fall to the Sultan, in the first place, to communicate details of the programme of the Conference to the Signatory Powers.

It follows accordingly that, until it has been definitely decided to summon a Conference, it would be useless to enter upon an exchange of views as desired by France, for any understanding arrived at in this way would possess importance only in so far as it received the consent of all the other Signatory Powers, a consent which, in the present state of affairs could only be secured at the Conference.

Finally, the Imperial Government cannot, at this moment, make separate proposals with regard to the programme of the Conference, since the questions involved must first be submitted to a searching examination; a further delay in deciding, however, could in itself endanger the summoning of a Conference, and therefore the work of reform. The Imperial Government express the hope that the Government of the French Republic will withdraw their objections to a Conference in view of the permanent advantages which the carrying out of reforms would insure both to Morocco and to the peace of the world.

Berlin, June 24, 1905.

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End

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON